DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 282 431 FL 016 730

AUTHOR	Ray, S., Ed.
TITLE	Aboriginal and Islander Grammars: Collected Papers. Work Papers of SIL-AAB, Series A, Volume 9.
INSTITUTION	Summer Inst. of Linguistics, Darwin (Australia). Australian Aborigines Branch.
PUB DATE	Nov 85
NOTE	126p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Creoles; Ethnic Groups; Foreign Countries; Form Classes (Languages); *Grammar; *Indigenous Populations; Language Research; Morphology (Languages); *Nouns; *Phrase Structure; Sentence Structure; Structural Analysis (Linguistics); *Tenses (Grammar); Uncommonly Taught Languages; *Verbs
IDENTIFIERS	Aboriginal People; *Australia; Iwaidja; Kala Lagaw Ya; Kalaw Kawaw; Murinbata; Tiwi

ABSTRACT

Six papers on Australian Aboriginal and Islander grammars include: "Repetition of Tiwi at Clause Level" (Marie P. Godfrey); "Iwaidja Verbal Clauses" (Noreen Pym); "Murinbata Noun Clauses" (Chester S. Street); "Clauses in Kala Lagaw Ya" (Rod Kennedy); "Kalaw Kawaw Verbs" (Rod Kennedy); and "Kalaw Kawaw Verbs: Speaker Perspective and Tense, Mood, and Aspect" (Rod Kennedy). (MSE)

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Series A Volume 9

Aboriginal and Islander Grammars: Collected Papers

Editor: S. Ray

FL016730

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES BRANCH
DARWIN
NOVEMBER 1985

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ISSN 0810 9971

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA
Cataloguing-in-publication Data

Aboriginal and Islander grammars.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 86892 322 2.

[1]. Aborigines, Australian - Australia, Northern - Languages. I. Ray, Sandra, 1945- . II. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Australian Aborigines Branch. (Series: Work papers of SIL-AAB. Series A; v. 9).

499'.15

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PREFACE

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Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 9
November 1985

REPETITION OF TIWI AT CLAUSE LEVEL

Marie P. Godfrey

0. INTRODUCTION

Tiwi is an Australian Aboriginal language, which is spoken by about 1500 people who live mainly on Bathurst and Melville Islands, 65 km to the north of Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia.

The author has been working on the Tiwi language since February 1970, but many of the oral texts from which this present analysis has been made were collected between May and July 1977. The written texts were

produced between 1977 and 1982. This present study was commenced at a linguistic workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), February-April 1980. Special thanks are due to Raphael Apuatimi and Donald Kantilla, of Bathurst Island, for supplying text material and for acting as language consultants, both in the period in which the texts were collected and up to the time of the writing of this paper. Thanks are due also to Barney Tipuamantumerri, John Kerinaiua, Charlie Puruntatameri, and Greig Ullungura, for the texts they supplied. I am indebted to my colleagues in SIL, Noreen Pym, Bruce Waters, Mike Ray, and Jenny Lee, for editorial help with this paper. Of help in this analysis has been a concordance produced by a joint project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute and partially funded by the National Science Foundation, Grant GS-1605.

The examples cited in this paper are in the practical orthography developed by the author for literacy purposes.

FIGURE 0.1

Consonants	Phonemes	Practical Orthography
Labial	p, mp, p^w, m, m^w, w	p, mp, pw, m, mw, w
Apico-alveolar (alveolar)	t, nt, n, l, ř	t, nt, n, l, rr
Lamino-alveolar (alveo-palatal)	tš, ñtš, nj, y	j, nj, ny, y
Apico-domal (retroflexed)	ṭ, ṇṭ, ṇ, ḷ, ṛ	rt, rnt, rn, rl, r
Velar	k, ŋk, k^w, ŋ, $ŋ^w$, g	n, nk, kw, ng, ngw, g
Vowels		
High non-back	ɪ	i
High back	u	u
Mid	ɔ	o
Low	ʌ	a

The purpose of this paper is to describe the different types of repetition at clause level in oral Tiwi, to list which discourse types they occur in, to give the make-up of the clauses, and to give the reasons for the use of the different kinds of repetition. See Figure 0.2 for a summary of this description.

In the process of analysing the types of clause repetition in oral Tiwi, it is hoped to discover which types are also used in written style and which types are redundant there. Owing to the shortage, at this stage, of Aboriginal-authored written material, only a superficial comparison will be made in this paper between the types of clause repetition in oral material and written material.

Where the term 'Tiwi' is used here to refer to the language, it is the traditional Tiwi language that is being referred to. (Lee, 1983)

The term 'clause' is used here generally in the sense of either a clause within a sentence, or a simple sentence made up of only one clause. For the analysis of clause level in Tiwi see Lee (1983).

Unless otherwise stated, the intonation on the clauses in most of the types of repetition in the oral Tiwi material is that of an independent stative clause, that is, sentence-final intonation on the last two syllables of the clause, which consists of a mid-high intonation on the penultimate syllable, and a mid-low or low intonation on the final syllable.

The main types of discourse posited in Tiwi are Narrative, Procedural, Expository, and Behavioural. The latter is made up of Hortatory, Eulogy, and Prayer material. For ease of description these three will be referred to in this paper as though they were separate types.

There is a pattern in the language of repetition on different levels, from onomatopoeic words through to discourse level. On discourse level, a theme may be repeated throughout the discourse, at the end of some of the paragraphs or as a separate paragraph. Clause level repetition is of course dealt with in this paper, and one type of paragraph level repetition, Cyclic repetition, is described in Section 1.7. Repetition in clause remnants consists mainly of short non-verbal remarks or responses in conversation. There does not seem to be much repetition on phrase level.

FIGURE 0.2 CLAUSE REPETITION TYPES

	Base Constituents	Grammatical elements in Repeat	Verb or Situational Equivalent-same or diff
CONFIRMATION	Text and Confirmation	Mainly verb	Often the same in both bases, but may have more specific meaning in the second
LINKAGE	Text, Linkage, & Highlighted Event/Procedure	Mainly verb	Sequential type: often same, but may be more specific verb in repeat, or synonym Simultaneous type same
PLAIN REITERATION	Text and Reiteration	Mainly verb, but also any obligatory constituents	Often same; may be synonym
AMPLIFICATION	Text and Amplification	Mainly verb	Often the same; may be synonym or pro-verb
GENERIC-SPECIFC	Text Generic & Text Specific	where verb made more specific: often only verb. Where Subject or Object, they too used in repet.	same when Subject and Object made more specific; otherwise different
NEGATED-ANTONYM	Text and Paraphrase	Mainly verb, and overt Object where Object in focus	Different when verb in focus. Same or synonym when other than verb in focus
CYCLIC	Text, Paraphrase and Text'	Mainly verb or verb complement	Often same; may be synonym
PASSAGE-OF-TIME	Text and Repetition^{n}	Verb	same

IN ORAL TIWI

Nominal Arguments[1]	Type of Discourse	Reason for Repetition
same in both bases	Procedural, Narrative & Expository	To confirm that the intended action or instruction was carried out
Bet. Text & Linkage: same. Bet. Linkage & H'lighted Event/Proc: may be different	Narrative and Procedural	Highlight the second of two closely-linked events or procedures
same	all but Prayers	Mainly for emphasis of the whole clause. Where Reiteration is a summary of Text, it may be to bring listener back to story line.
same Subject and Object. Referent may be added as Amplif.	all types	Add and highlight new information; and perhaps to slow down the rate of information.
same	all but Eulogies	Make certain information more specific or perhaps style.
Mostly same but nominal arg. in 1st base may change its function in 2nd	Mostly Hortatory and Expository. Also in Prayers and Eulogies	To emphasise one of the constituents of the clause in 1st base
same	Mostly Hortatory and Expository also Prayers & Eulogies	To emphasise the first clause in certain two-clause constructions
same	Narrative and Procedural discourses and materials	Indicate action carried on for length of time

1 TYPES OF REPETITION

1.1 CONFIRMATION

In this type of repetition, the Text is manifested by either a hortatory expression or a statement by someone of his intention to do a certain thing in the near future, either on his own, or in company with others. In the Confirmation, there is the verification of that intention or hortatory expression having been carried out. (Where an instruction is not carried out, or an intention to do something is thwarted in some way, a different construction is used.) The reported speech containing the statement of intention or the hortatory expression has mainly been found in Narrative and Procedural discourse, and only occasionally in Expository discourses.

Usually just the verb (sometimes introduced by a conjunction) is repeated in Confirmation, and it is unusual for new information to be added. One place where the adding of new information is possible is where a movement verb is needed to get the person(s) to the place where the action is to be carried out (see Example 3). There may also be a 'yes' answer given by the person addressed, or 'Let's do that!', before it is stated that the action was carried out.

The repetition in the Confirmation of the action expressed in the Text may be by the use of a synonym (see Example 4), or the meaning of the verb in Confirmation may be more specific than that used in the Text (see Example 5). However, this use of a more specific verb in the Confirmation seems to be restricted to hortatory expressions where the expression is along the line of 'Let's go!'.

Where the action is a long process, the verb telling of that process may be omitted in the Confirmation and be replaced by a verb telling that the process was finished (see Example 6).

(1) Text:

Nga -ri-kirlayi yangamini
we:incl-cv-fill:in hole

Confirmation:

Pi -ri-kirlay -ani
they:p-cv-fill:in-p:hab

'(They would say,) "Let's fill in the hole." They would fill it in.'

(2) Text:

Manya kutupi ta- -ki -mu-wa
go:ahead jump you:sg:imp-eve-do-to:here

Confirmation:

Kutupi yi - ki - mi
jump he:p- eve - do

'"Go ahead and jump down here because these people want to see you," I said (it was night). He jumped down.'

(3) Text:

Waya ngu- wulipa - jiyarra a - ri - mi
now I - ought - tell he-cv - say

Confirmation:

Ninkiyi a- wuriyi a - 0 - wurtiyarra
he-go he - him - tell

'"I ought to tell him now," he says. Then he goes and tells him.'

(4) Text:

Ngu - man - taluwa kanijawa kurrijuwa
I - you:pl - give flour axe

Confirmation:

Kiyi yu - wun -takiray-ani
then he:p- them-give p:hab

'He would say to them, "I will give you flour and axes." And he would give (them) to them.'

(5) Text:

Waya nga - yi - ki- ija ngi - ri - ki - mi
now we:incl-icve-eve - go:now I - cv - eve - say

Confirmation:

Partuwa nginti -ri-ki -yapurti
finish we:excl:p-cv-eve-go:up

'"Let's go now," I said in the evening. Then we went up.'

The reason for this type of repetition seems to be to confirm that what was given in speech as a hortatory expression, or as intention to carry something out, was actually done.

It should be noted that, as with many other Australian Aboriginal languages, Tiwi uses a lot of conversation and soliloquy in its discourses. Almost no indirect speech is used.

1.2 LINKAGE

The Linkage type of repetition is where a clause or sentence (Text) is repeated by making it the introductory clause (Linkage) of a new sentence. The Linkage clause is combined with a Highlighted Event/Procedure clause or clauses in that new sentence.

The Text is usually a one-clause sentence and in the repetition, that is, the Linkage clause, the last constituent of the clause may be suffixed by the enclitic *-apa* 'construction focus' (see Example 6).

It is often only the <u>verb</u> of the Text clause that is repeated in the Linkage clause, as in Example 6, though the verb carries the same prefixes for Subject and, where applicable, for Object and Indirect Object. The verb repeated in the Linkage clause is usually the same as in the Text clause, though it may be a synonym or a verb with a more specific meaning. To date no verb with future meaning has been found in this type of repetition.

Where the time relationship between the Linkage and the Highlighted Event/Procedure clauses is sequential, there may be a sequential conjunction *ninkiyi* or *kiyi* introducing the Highlighted Event/Procedure clause with the meaning 'then (the next thing of relevance that happened)'. The conjunction *karri* 'when' usually introduces the Linkage clause where the time relationship between the actions in the Linkage and the Highlighted Event/Procedure clauses is simultaneous or in close-sequence; that is, the action in the Highlighted clause follows closely after the finish of the action in the Linkage clause. Though the surface structure of the time relationship *karri* 'when' (such and such a thing happens/happened). . .*awungarri* 'at that known time' (such and such else happens/happened)' is simultaneous, very seldom is the

meaning genuinely simultaneous, but it is rather a case of the actions happening in close sequence. This is true for the occurrences of *karri. . .awungarri* in places where there is no Linkage repetition as well as for its use in the Linkage repetition. An example of where the two actions happen simultaneously in Linkage repetition is in Example 7 (the only example in the data). In Example 8 the more common time relationship of close-sequence is illustrated. These two latter time relationships are called simultaneous here, to distinguish them from the ordinary sequential, where the span of time that elapses between the two actions is not in focus.

In general, the use of *awungarri* 'at that known time' in a clause focuses on the simultaneity or close-sequence in time of two actions or procedures, that is, the action in the clause containing *awungarri* and the action in the preceding clause. On the other hand the use of *ninkiyi* or *kiyi* signals the sequential relationship between two actions or procedures in the two clauses. Repetition using *awungarri* occurs only infrequently.

As the Linkage clause is a repetition of the Text clause, the nominal arguments are the same, and often the Subject of the Linkage clause is also the Subject of the Highlighted Event/Procedure clause.

This type of repetition is found most frequently in Narrative discourse, but may also occur in Procedural discourse.

The reason for this type of repetition seems to be to highlight the second of two events or procedures that are closely linked in sequence or simultaneous time, by repeating the clause expressing that first event or procedure before going on to the second event or procedure. The slowing down of the information rate that results from this Linkage repetition probably helps in this highlighting. The use of the enclitic *-apa* 'construction focus' on the last constituent of the Linkage clause also confirms that the clause following is highlighted, for this enclitic is also used at the end of an initial topic noun phrase, usually a Subject noun phrase, to highlight the rest of the clause.

There are examples in the data of collateral material occurring between the Text and the Linkage, but here too the reason for the Linkage repetition seems to be to highlight the second of two closely-linked actions (see Example 9).

Examples:

(6) Text:

Pi -	*ri* -	*mu* -	*warri*	*awarra*	*pulangumwa-ni*
they:past	cv	over:him	brawl	that:m:known	dog m

Linkage:

Pi - ri mu - warri - apa
they:past cv over:him brawl const.foc

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Kiyi pi - ri - pirn - ajirri
then they:past cv hit recip

'They had a brawl over that male dog. They had a brawl and then they hit each other.'

(7) In the context of the clause preceding the following example, the child sneezed.

Text:

Api awungarri kutupi ji -yi -mi
and that:time:known jump she:p-cv -do

Linkage:

Kutupi ji -yi-mi ngampi nyirra ju -wujingi-muw-an-apa
jump she:p -cv-do she:p -dur -sit-rep-const.foc

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Awungarri yi -pawurligi ngarra pijara
that:time:known it:m:p -fall it:m bullet

'(The child sneezed.) At that time she (the wallaby) jumped. She jumped in the place where she was sitting and the bullet fell (to the ground - instead of hitting her).'

(8) Text:

Ninkiyi ju -wuriyi
then she:p-go

Linkage:

Karri ju -wuriyi awinyirra marntupunga
when she:p -go that:f:known skinnyfish

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Awungarri *papi* *yi* *-mi* *awarra* *tartuwali*
that:known:time arrive he:p -do that:m:known shark

'Then she (the skinnyfish) went. When she, the skinnyfish, went, in no time the shark appeared.'

(9) Text:

Ngi-ni *-ri* *-ki* *-yapurti*
I:p-loc -cv -eve -go:up

Collateral:

Ngiya *tangarima* *tingata* *yi* *-ma*
my home beach it:m:p-is

Linkage:

Ngi-ni -ri -ki -yapurt-apa
I:p-loc-cv -eve-go:up -const.foc

Highlighted Event/Proc:

Ngi-ni -ri -ki -yangiji
I:p-loc-cv -eve -make:brief:visit

'I came up at night. My home was on the beach. I came up at night and went over there for a brief visit.'

1.3 PLAIN REITERATION

This type of repetition mainly consists of a one-clause sentence (the Text), with a repetition (the Reiteration) that is only minimally different from the Text, and with no new information added in the Reiteration clause. A conjunction in the Text that links it to a previous sentence in the discourse is not repeated in the Reiteration. Locative constituents in Text that are not obligatory to the verbal construction are usually omitted in the Reiteration, so that the Locative present in the Text forms the location frame for the two clauses. There is only one example in the data of a Temporal constituent in the Text, and that is omitted from the Reiteration.

The overt Object in the Text is often carried over into the Reiteration as an anaphoric definitive. (See Example 11 for an instance of this

latter type of repetition.) The Locative from the Text may also be repeated in the Reiteration clause as an anaphoric word, in this case an anaphoric Locative word, as in Example 12. Sometimes where the Reiteration clause contains an anaphoric word, the Text clause is a long complicated one, as in Example 13. In that case the clause in Reiteration is in the way of a summary. This type of summary clause may also follow a large amount of reported speech introduced by a quotation formula. Here the summary in the Reiteration clause is: That is what he (or whoever) said.

The verb in the Reiteration is usually an exact repetition of that in the Text, but it may be a synonym. Likewise, the complement expressed as a noun in a stative non-verbal clause[2], may be given as a verb in the Reiteration clause, as in Example 14. However it is not felt that this use of synonyms constitutes a different type of repetition. Rather, it seems that the use of synonyms in Tiwi is for the sake of style, and that some speakers pay more attention to style than others. Also there are usually only synonyms for the most common verbs, nouns and adjectives; and so in many instances it is not possible to use synonyms in repetition. The nominal arguments are the same in the two bases.

Examples:

(10) Text:

Awarra *marakati* *pi* *-ri* *-ku* *-wa* *-nyaw* *-ani*
that:m:known speargrass they:p -cv -eve -from:mouth -throw -hab

Reiteration:

Pi *-ri* *-ku* *-wa* *-nyaw* *-ani*
they:p -cv -eve -from:mouth -throw -hab

'They would spit (yam) towards that speargrass. They would spit (yam).'

(11) Text:

Amintiya *yoyi* *nyi* *-rra* *-mwari*
and dance you:pl:imp-emph -stop:doing

Reiteration:

Awarra *nyi* *-rra* *-mwari*
that:m:known you:pl:imp-emph -stop:doing

'And stop dancing! Stop it!'

(12) Text:

Nga *-papijingi* *pirripatumi* *artawini*
we:incl:pl -meet place:name place:name

Reiteration:

Nga *-papijingi* *awungarruwu*
we:pl:incl -meet there:known:place

'"We will meet at Pirripatumi and Artawini. We'll meet there," (we said).'

(13) Text:

Kiyi *yu* *-wunga* *jurra* *ngi-naki* *ngini* *ngarra*
he:p:it:m -pick up book m -this which:m he

parlingarri *wulinjirriyanga* *kularlaga*
long:ago desert:place move:around

yi *-pungu-m* *-am* *-ini* *ngini* *nimarra*
he:p -place-go-move:around-hab to talk

yi *-pungu-m* *- ani* *naki* *nimi* *-ni*
he:p -place-do - hab m:this what:name? -m

John Baptist *jurra* *ngini* *ngarra* *yi* *-kirimi*
book which:m he he:p -make

Reiteration:

Awarra *yu* *-wunga*
that:m:known he:p:it:m -pick up

'Then he picked up the book which - what's his name? - John the Baptist who long ago used to move around in the desert and talk - the book which he made. He picked that up.'

(14) Text:

Karluwu *kitarrimayi-wi*
not lazy:person:pl

Reiteration:
Karluwu pi -rri -j -angwiya
not they:p-p -neg:p -be:lazy

'They weren't lazy people. They weren't lazy.'

(15) Text:
Ngawa nguwur-ayi
we:pl:incl poor -emot

Reiteration:
Ngawa nguwur-ayi
we:pl:incl poor -emot

'"Poor us! Poor us!" (they said).'

Where the sentence in the Text contains both an independent and dependent clause, the repetition may be of either the independent or the dependent clause. In both examples below the Text base consists of an independent clause followed by a dependent clause. In Example 16 it is the dependent clause that is repeated in the Reiteration base; and in Example 17 the independent clause is the one that is repeated.

(16) Text:

Ngarra Kapijani yi -pakirayi pili nyirra-tuwu
he pers:name he:p:to:him-give because she -emph

nyirra awinyirra arikula-nga Kapijani
she that:f:known old -f pers:name

ngangi yi -marri -muwu
who:f he:p -with -live

Reiteration:

Nyirra awinyirra arikula-nga ngangi yi -marri-muwu
she that:f:known old -f who:f he:p -with -live

awarra Kapijani
that:m:known pers:name

'Kapijani gave (her) to him because the woman whom he had married was old. That (woman) whom Kapijani married was old.'

(17) Text:
Ngawa kiri - papuraj-wi api ngawa waya kiyija
we:incl hands - good -pl we:p:incl now little

ngampu *-rra* *-yangarratamiya*
we:p:incl -should -boast

Reiteration:
Ngawa *nginta* *kiri* *-papuraj-wi*
we:p:incl 1pers:emph hands-good -pl

'We are clever with our hands so we should boast a little now. We are clever with our hands.'

The constituents of the Text may be given in a changed order in the Reiteration. This mainly happens where there are just two constituents in the Text. This change of order in the constituents in the Reiteration does not seem to constitute a different type of repetition. In many of the places where the exact order is retained in the Reiteration, it would not be possible to change the order of the constituents in the clause because of the restrictions on word order.

Examples:

(18) Text:
Ju *-wun* *-tiyi* *tayikuwapi*
she:p -them -gave:birth:to lots

Reiteration:
Tayikuwapi *ju* *-wun* *-tiyi*
lots she:p -them -gave:birth:to

'She gave birth to lots (of children). She gave birth to lots (of children).'

(19) Text:
Ngarra *puranji* *yi* *-muwu* *ngawa* *arikutumurnu-wi*
he well he:p -regard us:pl:incl person -pl

Reiteration:
Ti *-wi* *ngawa* *puranji* *yi* *-muwu*
person-pl us:pl:incl well he:p -regard

'He loved us people. He loved us people.'

This type of repetition has been found in all types of discourses except in prayers, though it would seem that with more data it could also be found in prayers. This type of repetition is especially common in speech, that is, in exhortations and remarks, as in Examples 12 and 14.

The main reason for this type of repetition is for emphasis. Where a remark in speech is repeated it is often an emotive remark, as in

Example 15. Where there is a summary type of repetition, as in Example 13, the reason seems to be to bring the discourse back to the story or theme line.

1.4 AMPLIFICATION

This type of repetition occurs where a clause (the Text) is repeated with the addition of new information. There is usually only one new piece of information in the Amplification. This new piece of information is usually given at the beginning of the Amplification clause.

The new items of information seem to occur as almost any clause constituent, or as a modifer of a clause constituent, but where the Action constituent is concerned, only a non-obligatory verb prefix has been found to constitute the new piece of information (see Example 25).

Examples:

(20) Text:

Nyirra kitawu ji -ni -pirrortigi
she there:mid:dist her:he -loc -begat

Amplification:

Subject
Palipuwamini ji -ni -pirrortigi
man's name her:he -loc -begat

'He begat her over there. (It was) Palipuwamini (who) begat her over there.'

(21) Text:

Ji -min-inga
she:p -me -take:hold:of

Amplification:

Object
Pirrikaliki ji -min-inga
forearm she:p -me -take:hold:of

'She took hold of me. She took hold of my forearm.'

(22) Text:

Nginta *wanga* *naki* *yoni* *awarra*
spkr. emph truly this:m another:m that:m:known

ngu-wuj *-angiraga-mami* *ngini* *waya* *nga* *-wuj*
I -icve -say -icve that we:pl:incl -icve

-angiliparr *-ami* *naki* *ngawa* *-rringani*
-forget -icve this:m our:pl:incl -Father

Amplification:

Time
Waya *yiloti* *nga* *-wuj* *-angiliparr* *-ami*
emph forever we:pl:incl -icve -forget -icve

'I'm starting to say this other thing: that we're now starting to forget our Father. We're starting to forget him and it will be forever.'

(23) Text:

Nginingaji *namurruputi* *api* *awungaji*
around suppertime well there:known:at:camp

nginti *-ri* *-ki* *-yamukurug-ani*
we:pl:excl:p -cv -eve -make:camp-p:hab

Amplification:

Location
Kwiyi *makatinga* *api* *awungaji*
at stream well there:known:at:camp

japuja *yi* *-ma-ani*
camp it:m:p -is-p:hab

'Around suppertime we would make our camp there (at camp I've been talking about). At the stream, there we'd make camp.'

(24) Text:

Kiyi *yangamini* *pi* *-ri* *-kirimi*
then hole they:p -cv -make

Amplification:

Subject Modifier				
Yati	*yangamini*	*pi*	*-ripu*	*-ma*
one:m	hole	they:p	-for:them	-do

'Then they made a hole. There was one hole made (for burying) them (in).'

(25) Text:

Japinari	*nginti*	*-wati-pangulimay-ani*
morning	we:pl:excl:p	-morn-walk -hab

Amplification:

	Non-oblig. verb prefix	
Nginti	*-wati-ngilipangi*	*-rrangulimay-ani*
we:pl:excl:p	-morn-when:others:asleep	-walk -hab

'We used to walk in the morning. We would walk in the morning when everyone else was asleep.'

(26) Text:

Partuwa	*ninkiyi*	*waya*	*ngini*	*yu*	*-wati-muwuni*	*-pirn-ani*
finish	then	just	that	he:p	-morn-us:pl:excl	-hit -hab

ngawa	*awuta*	*yikurri-mani*
we:pl:excl	these:known	four -people

Amplification:

				Instrument
Japinari	*yu*	*-wati-muwuni*	*-pirn-ani*	*manjanga*
morning	he:p	-morn-us:pl:excl	-hit -hab	big:stick

'After that he just hit us that morning, we four. With a big stick he hit us.'

Where the new items of information are Subject or Object, the resulting construction could be analysed as Generic/Specific repetition (Section 1.5), because that Subject or Object has been expressed as a prefix on the verb in the Text clause.

The enclitic *-la* '(repetitive)' is often used as the added information in the Amplification clause, particularly attached to the anaphoric manner word *awungani* 'in that way', the combination *awunganila* meaning 'it always happens/happened in that way'.

(27) Text:

Waya juwa piti-maji -rratuwala-mini maringarr-uwu
emph only they-in -go:across-hab side -dist

maringarr-agi
side -close

Amplification:

Awungani -la purru -wujingi-m -ani
manner:known -rep they:p -contin -do -hab

'They only crossed over in (boat), from side to side. They always did it that way.'

It is usually only the verb from the Text that is repeated in the Amplification clause. However, an overt Subject or Object that is present in the Text is cross-referenced as a prefix on the verb in Amplification in the usual manner. It is often the same verb that is repeated, but a pro-verb may be used in the Amplification clause if the new item added calls for that type of verbal construction, as in Example 24. The verb in Amplification may also be a synonym of that in the Text, as in Example 23.

The Amplification type of repetition has been found in all types of discourse. One reason for this type of repetition seems to be to add and highlight new information that is considered important, and the placing of this new clause constituent at the beginning of the clause highlights that new constituent. The beginning of a clause is the regular position for highlighted information. Old information is usually put at the end of a clause. Some of the constituents that typically occur as amplification are: 'forever', 'always', 'very', 'everyone' which are emphatic in meaning. Also, placing new information into a new clause slows down the rate of introduction of new information. It may be that this slowing down of the information rate is a way of highlighting the new information.

1.5 GENERIC-SPECIFIC

In this type of repetition a generic constituent in the first base (Text Generic) is replaced in the second base (Text Specific) with a

constituent that is more specific in meaning. The Text Generic is usually a one-clause sentence. The generic constituent in the Text Generic can be expounded in two or more clauses in Text Specific.

The main constituent made more specific in Text Specific is the Action; but the Object, Time, Location, and Manner constituents may also be made more specific. Only one constituent at a time is made more specific in the Text Specific.

The overt Object in Text Generic, where not made more specific in Text Specific, is omitted from that second base. Where there are Temporal or Locative constituents in the Text Generic, they are not carried over to the Text Specific, but rather seem to be time and locative frames for both clauses. Likewise, any Temporal conjunction in the Text Generic that links that clause in time to the clause preceding it, is omitted in the Text Specific. The nominal arguments in both bases are the same. There is just one example in the data of added information in the Text Specific (other than that which makes a constituent from the Text Generic more specific), and that is where the more specific verb used in the second base calls for an obligatory Locative word, as in Example 29. Where it is a constituent other than the verb that is made more specific in the second base, the verb in that second base may be a synonym of that in the first base.

Examples:

(28) Text Gen:

Karluwu	*pitipituwu*	*ngi*	*-nu*	*-wun*	*-takirayi*
don't	compassion	you:pl	-n.p.:neg-them		-give

Text Spec:

Karluwu	*ngi*	*-nu*	*-wun*	*-takirtirruwa*
don't	you:pl	-n.p.:neg-them		-take:on:shoulders

'(Your children walk along the road unaware of danger.) You don't have compassion on them. You don't take them on your shoulders.'

(29) Text Gen:

Nuwa	*-tuwu*	*yingwampa*	*nyi*	*-rra*	*-makirring-uriyi*
you:pl	-emph	some:human	you:pl:imp	-emph	-in:fear -go

Text Spec:

Kali-kali *nyi* *-rra* *-makirringi* *-mi* *kapi* *nuwa*
run -run you:pl:imp -emph -in:fear -do to your:pl

ngirimi -pi
relative -pl

'Some of you go for your lives. Run for your lives to your relatives.'

(30) Text Gen:

Ninkiyi *yinkiti* *nginti* *-wuni* *-pirn-ani*
then food we:pl:excl:p -them -kill-hab

Text Spec:

Wuta *yingwati* *wuninga* *awuta*
they bush:honey possum those:known

nginti *-wuni-pirn-ani*
we:pl:excl:p -them-kill-hab

'Then we would kill game along the way. We killed possum and (cut into trees for) bush honey.'

(31) Text Gen:

Awarra *kintanga* *nga* *-wati-wini*
that:m:known foot we:pl:incl -all -have

a *-wati-wunti-mintirrag* *-ajirri*
it:m-all -them -be:different -each other

Text Spec:

Yingwampa *mili -yirriku* *-wi* *yingwampa* *arikula-ni* *kintanga*
some:human foot -long -pl some:human big -m foot

amintiya *yingwampa* *kiriji-ni*
and some:human small -m

'The feet of all (on Bathurst Island) are different. Some are long, some big, and some small.'

Generic-Specific repetition has been found in all types of discourse, except in eulogies. There is a type of Generic-Specific repetition that is found in prayer that is in the form of Negated-Antonyms, and this is dealt with in Section 1.6. Also see the Construction described in 1.3 'Amplification', which could also be thought of as a type of Generic-Specific repetition. The reason for this type of repetition is to make certain information more specific, by way of explaining it further in another clause. In addition, it may be a matter of style, for the stating of something in the generic first and then in the specific is a feature of the Tiwi language. On the phrase level a noun phrase might be 'he, that other one, that good one', with each stating of the Subject being more specific than the previous one. On discourse level the theme or outline of a narrative may be given in an introductory paragraph at the beginning of the discourse, and the specific details of the theme or story then are spelt out in the following paragraphs of the discourse. However, more study needs to be undertaken in the area of style.

The difference between this and the Amplification type of repetition is that the new information given in the second base in Amplification is extra to what is given in the first base; whereas in Generic-Specific there is generally no new constituent in the second base, but rather in the second base something is made more specific than in the first base.

1.6 NEGATED-ANTONYM

This type of repetition usually consists of two clauses (the Text and the Paraphrase), where one is of contrary meaning to the other. The Paraphrase clause may be a co-ordinate clause.

It is mostly the verbs or the verbal complements[3] in the two bases that are the antonyms. While almost any other constituent in the clause can comprise the antonym, the Object is the major non-verbal constituent that comprises the antonym. One constituent that has not been found comprising the antonyms is the Indirect Object, but is seems that with more examples it should be possible to find an example of this. If it is the action that is in focus in the two bases, the two verbs may be either exact antonyms, for example, <u>love</u> versus <u>hate</u>, or they may be situation opposites, for example, 'Don't dance! Pray!'. Where the antonyms consist of other than the verbs, the verbs in the two bases may be synonyms. There is no significant use of a constituent in one base that is not present in the other, except of course the negative word in the base that is the negated antonym; and the addition of a constituent in the second base is mostly incidental. The one exception is the use of *-la* '(repetitive)' described in Section 1.4 Amplification. The use of *-la* which is Negated-Antonym repetition occurs on the verb or the

verbal complement, constitutes an amplification item, and thus there is a combination of types of repetition here; that is, Negated-Antonym and Amplification.

Temporal and Locative constituents seem to be used in this type of repetition only where those constituents comprise the antonyms. This is probably because the constituents that mostly comprise the antonyms in this type of repetition are verbs, and time and location are not in focus. As with the other types of repetition, a conjunction used in the first base that connects it to a previous sentence in the discourse is not repeated in the second base. Where the antonym comprises something other than the verb, the verb may be omitted from the second base, as in Example 35; there is one example of the verb being omitted from the first base and put into the second, as in Example 38. There may be collateral material between the two bases.

Examples:

(32) Text:

Aga	*ngajiti*	*nyi*	*-mp*	*-aja*	*-pirni*	*manjanga*
hey:woman	don't	you:sg	-her	-neg:imp-hit		big:stick

Paraphrase:

Yita	*wanga*	*yikara*	*ta*	*-kurawupura*
2pers:emph	truly	hand	you:sg:imp-hand:open:do	

'Hey, woman, don't hit her with a big stick. (Hit) with an open hand.'

(33) Text:

Pupuni	*ampi-ri-miringarra*	*arikutumurni-wi*
well	she -cv-sit	person -pl

Paraphrase:

Karluwu	*jirti*	*a*	*-ni*	*-miringarra*
neg	badly	she	-she:neg	-sit

'She likes people. She doesn't hate them.'

(34) Text:

Karluwu	*tayikuwa-pi*	*ngamu-ngamu*
neg	lot -pl	munch-munch

Paraphrase:

Ata *wanga* *ngarra-nyimi* *-pi* *-la* *kapi* *ngatawa*
3pers:emph truly his -bro:in:law -pl -rep who:pl his

tangarima *pi* *-ri* *-kirim-ani* *waya* *awuta*
home they:p -cv -make -hab emph those:known

purru *-wapuk* *-ani*
they:p -eat -hab

'Not everybody ate (what the initiate hunted for). Only his brothers-in-law who lived in his camp would eat it.'

(35) Text:

Nuwa *ngajiti* *tayikuwa* *-nga* *ngimp* *-aja* *-marri* *-muwu*
you:pl don't lots -f you:pl -neg:imp-with -live

Paraphrase:

Kiyija *kiyija*
few few

'Don't marry lots of women. (Just marry) a few.'

(36) Text:

Amintiya *karuwa* *ngintu* *-wurtiyarra* *-pirri*
and short:time we:pl:excl:p -talk -together

Paraphrase:

Karri *yirnukuni* *-mari*
not long:time -not

'And we talked together for a short time. It wasn't a long time (we talked for).'

(37) Text:

Ngajiti *nga* *-waja* *-wariyi* *tarntipi* *pili* *yartukunga*
don't we:pl:incl-neg:imp-go place:name because hunted:out

Collateral:

Karrikami-ni *awungarr* *-uwu* *yinkiti* *nga* *-mata* *-nyayi*
nothing -m there:known-dist food we:pl:incl-would-find

Paraphrase:

Marri	*wanga*	*nga*	*-wurru*	*-wariyi*	*kapi*	*yartimanyini*
emph	truly	we:pl:incl	-should	-go	to	different:place

'We won't go to Tarntipi because that place is hunted out. We wouldn't find food there. Really we should go to a different place.

(38) Text:

Ngajiti	*kularlani*
don't	crooked

Paraphrase:

Yita	*wanga*	*turupwiya*	*nyi*	*-rra*	*-kirimi*
2pers:emph	truly	straight	you:pl:imp	-emph	-make

'Don't make (them) crooked! Make (them) straight!'

The nominal arguments may change their functions from one base to the other. That is, the Subject of one may become the Object of another, with a new Subject introduced in the second base. For example, 'He didn't touch food; they fed him.', and 'He took her; they didn't give her to him.' The reverse is the case in prayers, where the Object of the action (making a request) in the first base may become the Subject in the second base. For example, 'God, make him well! He shouldn't be weak.'

The relationship between the two bases in prayers could also be thought of as Generic-Specific. Also in prayers, the Object in the first base may be carried over to the second base, with a new Subject introduced in the second base. For example, 'God, look after us in the bush. A snake shouldn't bite us.'

The Negated-Antonym type of repetition is found most frequently in Hortatory and Expository discourses, and in expository material that is embedded in narrative or hortatory discourses. It is also found in prayers, as described above, and in eulogies. It is expected that, with more data, it could be found in expository material embedded in Procedural discourse.

In hortatory material the usual pattern is that the Text is negative and the Paraphrase is positive. The opposite is the case in non-hortatory material, where the usual pattern is that the Text is positive and the Paraphrase negative.

The reason for this type of repetition is to emphasise one of the constituents of the Text clause. The difference between this type of repetition and Plain Reiteration is that in Plain Reiteration the emphasis is on the whole clause.

The Text may be repeated again, following the Paraphrase, giving a cyclic construction. This will be dealt with in Section 1.7.

1.7 CYCLIC

A description of this type of repetition should probably not be included in a clause repetition paper, but rather in a description of paragraph types, for most of the cyclic constructions form a paraphraph. The construction is included here mainly to show the extra repetition that can be used in Negated-Antonym; that is, Text-Paraphrase-Restatement of Text. Another interesting type of repetition that is cyclic is where the Result clause of a Result-Reason propositional cluster is repeated after the Reason proposition, that is, Result-Reason-Restatement of Result.

The Negated-Antonym repetition is the most common cyclic construction, with the pattern ABA', as shown above. The Text-Paraphrase part of this construction is the same as that described in 1.6 'Negated-Antonym'. The Text and Restatement of Text clauses are the same type of repetition as described in 1.3 'Plain Reiteration', with the exception that the anaphoric word is not usually used in the repetition (Restatement of Text), for Object and Locative. This is because the anaphoric words usually refer back to something in the preceding clause, rather than to something further back, as is the case here, where the Paraphrase is inserted between the Text and the Restatement of Text. There is one example of an anaphoric word used in Restatement of Text to refer back to the Object in Text. In that case the numeral modifier of the Object is used with the anaphoric word to ensure that there is no mistake made in identifying the Object being referred to. The example is: 'We have two ways . . . we wouldn't leave them. Those (anaphoric) two we have.'

There can be a Reason or Result clause added to Restatement of Text, as in Example 40. There may also be collateral material following the Paraphrase, that is, before the Restatement of Text clause. This cyclic type of Negated-Antonym construction is used in the same types of discourses as the Negated-Antonym where there is no cyclic repetition.

Examples:

(39) A: Text

Pi	*-ri*	*-mi*	*nak*	*-awi*	*yartijanga*
they:p	-conn-say		this:m-emot		dark

B: Para
Karluwu japarra
not moon

A': Restate of Text
Yartijanga
dark

'They said, "It's dark. There's no moon. It's dark."'

(40) A: Text
Karri ngu -wujingi -marrimapi -mil -apa
when I -dur -dead -lie -const.foc

waya juwa ngini nyi -ngi -rrikinawurrimiyi
emph only which you:pl -for:me -cry

B: Para
Ngajiti ngimp -a -jawurligi
don't you:pl -imp:neg -fall:over

ngajiti ngimp -a -japirn -amiya
don't you:pl -imp:neg-hit -selves

Collateral:
Karrikamini awarra papi yi -mata -ami
nothing:m that:m:known result it:m:p -would -do

A': Restate of Text
Waya juwa nyu wurri -ngi -rrakuntirri
emph only you:pl -should -for:me -cry

'When I am lying dead, only cry for me. Don't fall over and don't hit yourselves. That wouldn't achieve anything. Only cry for me.'

(41) A: Text
Gen

Ngarra tuputupu-ni parlingarri yi -kirimi
he short -m long ago he:p -make

kurlama
yam ceremony

B: Text
Spec

Ngarra awarra jiyi -kipunga -mini
he that:m:known he:p -clap:sticks -p:hab

jiyi -kuruwala -mini
he:p -sg -p:hab

A': Restate Text Gen
Ngarra kurlama yi -kirimi
he yam ceremony he:p -make

'Long ago the short one made up the yam ceremony. He clapped sticks together and sang. He made up the yam ceremony.'

There is one instance of a Negated-Antonym being used where the narrator avows the veracity of what he is about to say, followed by a Negated-Antonym giving what he says is true, and then the original avowing of the truthfulness of that statement, given in a reverse-order Negated-Antonym.

(42) A: N-A^{1}
Awarra nginaki ngini ngirri -pangiraga ngarra
that:m:known this:m which I:p -say it:m

arnuka kunyani ngarra awarra warntirrana
not lie it:m that:m:known true

B: N-A^{2}
Ngiya karluwu piyapiya ngirri -majirripi
I neg dream I:p:neg -sleep

nginta ngi -ri -miringarra
spkr.emph I -cve -sit

A': N-A^{1}
Ngarra warntirrana awarra
it:m true that:m:known

ngarra karluwu kunyani
it:m not lie

'This which I said isn't a lie. It's true. I wasn't asleep. I was sitting (when it happened). It's true. It isn't a lie.'

In the Restatement of Result clause of the cyclic construction that is Result-Reason-Restatement of Result, an anaphoric definitive *awarra* 'that-known (reason)' follows the conjunction that introduces the clause and refers to the Reason just stated; the rest of the clause is a restatement of the Result. The verb in the Restatement of Result clause may be a synonym of that in Result. There are not many examples in the data of this type of cyclic repetition. It is not a variation of any of the types of repetition previously described, and is not charted on Figure 0.2.

(43) A: Result
Tani warnta ngirramini ngirri -minj -ini
but true trouble I:p -against:you -have

B: Reason
Pili ju -wa -ngin -takiyarri
because you:sg:p -try -me -tell:lies:about

A': Restatement of Result
Api awarra ngirramini ngirri -minj -ini
so that:m:known trouble I:p -against:you -have

'But I truly did have something against you, because you tried to lie about me. So because of that I had something against you.'

(44) A: Result
Wuta -munta -ni piti -mi -rrajuwurtirri
their -friend -m they:p -him -report

B: Reason
Pili ngarra kiriminima -rti
because he giving:freely -m

A': Restatement of Result
Api awarra piti -mi -rrajuwurtirri
so that:m:known they:p -him -report

'They reported their countryman because he was giving too freely. So because of that they reported him.'

This type of Cyclic repetition occurs in Expository and Hortatory discourses and in expository and hortatory material embedded in Narrative and Procedural discourses.

The reason for this type of repetition is to emphasise the Result clause by repeating it. This Result clause seems to be the theme of the

paragraph it occurs in, and usually the Restatement of the Result clause finishes off the paragraph.

1.8 PASSAGE-OF-TIME

In this type of repetition a verb or verbal complement in the Text is repeated (the Repetition) from once to eight times to indicate that the action was carried on for some time. The action in Text has sometimes been stated in a previous sentence, but with no indication there that the action was carried out over a period of time. This type of repetition is different from the other types of repetition in that in other types, the repetition clause usually comprises a separate sentence, or at least a separate clause, whereas in this type the verbs seem to be strung together almost in the same way as the constituents in a clause are put together. The intonation level at the end of all but the last repeat seems to be that used at the end of a word that is hesitated on, with the narrator stopping to think of what to say next. However, the repeats are usually spoken fast, and it is often difficult to tell what the intonation is at the end of the non-final repeats. The intonation on the final repeat is sentence final intonation, unless there is another clause in the sentence, as in Example 49. In this case the intonation on the final repeat is non-final and that on the last clause in the sentence is final.

The Subject and, where applicable, the Object are indicated only as personal pronoun prefixes on the verb in each of the bases, for the identity of the participants has been established in a previous sentence. A conjunction may be present in the Text clause, linking it to a previous sentence in the discourse. Where the action is comprised of a verbal noun and an auxiliary, the verbal noun may be used on its own in all of the bases, without the auxiliary verb, as in Example 48; or the auxiliary may be added once or twice, as in Example 46. This omission of the auxiliary in some of the repetitions can also occur where an adverb is combined with the auxiliary, as in Example 47.

Examples:

(45) Text:

Ninkiyi	*pirr*	*-ati*	*-yi*	*-majingi-m*	*-am*	*-ani*
then	they:p	-morn	-moving	-in	-do -moving	-rep

Repetition:

Pirr	*-ati*	*-yi*	*-majingi-m*	*-am*	*-ani*
they:p	-morn	-moving	-in	-do	-moving -rep

'Then they went along in the (boat), going on and on.'

(46) Text:

Partuwa	*ninkiyi*	*jilamara*	*nga*	*-ri*	*-kirimi*
finish	then	paint	we:pl:incl	-cve	-do

Repetition:

jilamara	*jilamara*	*jilamara*	*jilamara*	*jilamara*	*jilamara*
paint	paint	paint	paint	paint	paint

Final clause:

Nga	*-ri*	*-kururiyi*
we:pl:incl	-cve	-finish

'After that we paint for a long time, until we finish.'

(47) Previous Sentence:

Murruka	*pi*	*-ri*	*-ma*
fast	they:p	-cve	-go

Text:

Murruka
fast

Repetition:

murruka	*murruka*	*pi*	*-ri*	*-ma*
fast	fast	they:p	-cve	-go

'(They went fast.) They went along fast for some time.'

(48) A previous statement is made that they got the calico ready.

Text:

Jilikari
pile:up

Repetition:

jilikari	*jilikari*
pile:up	pile:up

'They were piling it up for some time.'

A sequential clause may follow this type of repetition as part of the same sentence. Where there is this kind of combination with another clause, the Passage-of-Time repetition only comes in first position in the sentence.

Example:

(49) Previous sentence:

Ju *-wantiya* *awinyirra* *wuruwataka*
he:p:her -smell that:f:known rat

Text:

Ju *-wantiya*
he:p:her -smell

Repetition:

ju *-wantiy* *-apa*
he:p:her -smell -const.foc

Final clause of sentence - sequential:

Kiyi *yi* *-paringini* *awarra* *nginingaji* *minkaga*
then he:p -step:on that:m:known like fence

'(He smelt that rat.) He smelt that rat for some time and then he trod on that which was like a fence (a trap).'

This type of repetition is found in Narrative and Procedural discourses and in those types of embedded material in other types of discourses.

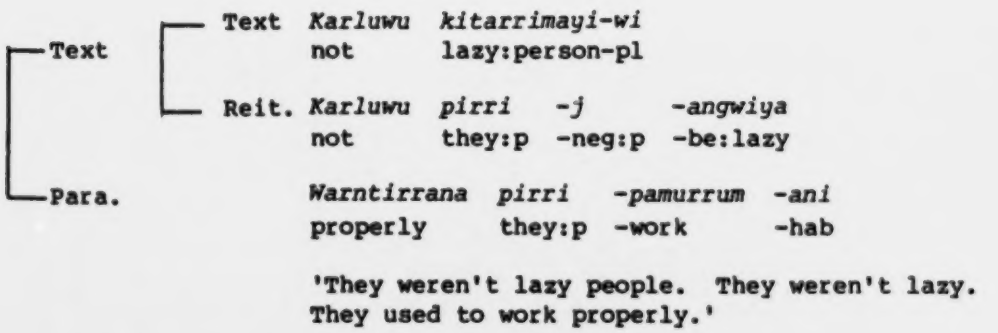
2. COMBINATION OF TYPES

There is not a large number of examples of the combining of two types of repetition. Most of the examples are of the embedding in Negated-Antonym of some other type of repetition used for emphasis. It has already been seen that in the Cyclic type of repetition the first two bases are using the Text and Paraphrase of a Negated-Antonym type of repetition, and this could be regarded as a combination of types of repetition. There are also a couple of examples of the Generic-Specific type of repetition forming the first two bases of a cyclic construction, as in Example 41 in Section 1.7 Cyclic.

It is expected that with more data other examples would be discovered of the combining of two types of repetition. Perhaps it would be possible to find a combination of more than two types of repetition.

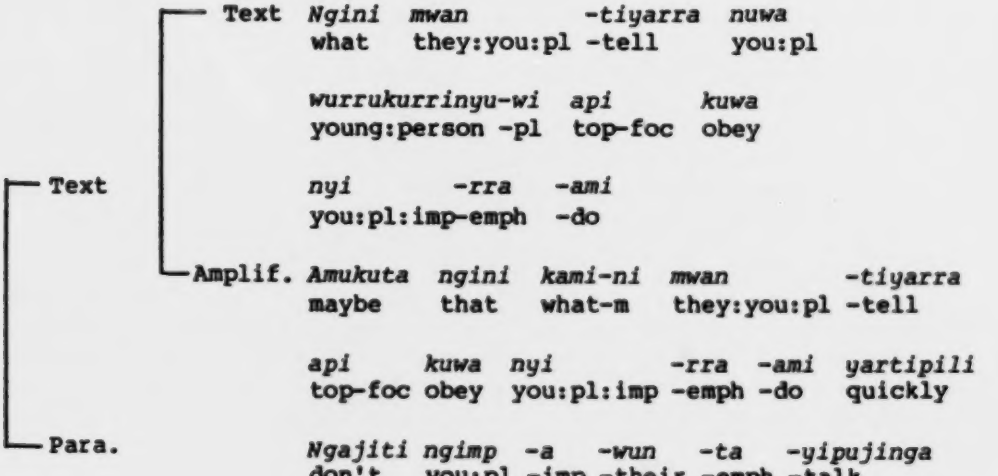
Examples:

(50) Plain Reiteration as Text in Negated-Antonym



'They weren't lazy people. They weren't lazy. They used to work properly.'

(51) Text-Amplification as Text in Negated-Antonym



'You young ones, obey what they tell you. Whatever they tell you, obey it quickly. Don't ignore it.'

3. NOTES ON REPETITION IN WRITTEN STYLE

The available Aboriginal-authored written material in Tiwi is considerably less than the data available in oral style, hence the observations made here on repetition in Tiwi written style will be tentative.

Curnow (1979:78,79) writes, 'Analysis of edited oral and written texts (in Wik-Mungkan) reveals a more logical selection of details, one that is purposeful and thoughtful. On the other hand, when using oral style, speakers seem to take a greater liberty for asides, and elaboration of points that are not the main ones . . . In our analysis of written style it has been obvious that these redundancy patterns are reduced severely, though not absent altogether.'

In Tiwi also, the repetition in written style has been found to be drastically reduced. Many types of repetition found at clause level in oral Tiwi texts have also been found in written texts authored by Tiwi people, but only one or two examples of each has been discovered to date. These examples have been checked with the writers of those materials, who felt that the repetitions were in order.

The types of repetition not found in written material were:

1 - Passage of Time repetition
2 - Plain Reiteration where the clause in Reiteration is an exact repeat of that in Text.
3 - Linkage of the Sequential type
4 - Cyclic of the Negated-Antonym type

The first two types above are of exact repetition, and it has been found that even those Tiwi who do not themselves write, when helping someone to transcribe oral material, will often object to exact repetition being written down. The type of Plain Reiteration found in written material was where the repetition was a type of summary clause, with an anaphoric word in the Reiteration clause referring back to the Object in the Text clause.

In oral texts the third type above often has the enclitic *-apa* '(Construction focus)' suffixed to the last word in the Linkage clause. It has been noticed that this enclitic is not used in written texts, either for giving focus to a clause, or for focusing attention on a level lower than the clause. Also, it was once noticed when helping a Tiwi writer to edit oral material to be used in print, that he deleted a Linkage clause of the sequential type and made the Highlighted Event/Procedure clause into a new sequential sentence. That is, the construction 'He tried to get the axe out. He tried to get it out and it broke.' became 'He tried to get the axe out. Then it broke'.

It is felt that, with more data, it could be possible to find the fourth type above in written material. Hopefully, there will soon be more written texts available for analysis.

4. SUMMARY

In oral Tiwi the type of clause repetition that occurs most frequently is the Plain Reiteration, because it is used continuously in dialogue. Of the other types of repetition, Negated-Antonym is the most frequently used. The next most commonly used is Linkage. The other types occur less frequently and at about the same frequency as each other.

The reason for the use of most of the types of repetition is for emphasis. The use of the other types of repetition, that is Confirmation repetition, Generic-Specific, and Passage-of-Time, could perhaps be put under the general heading of style.

In written material, of the small number of examples found, there is no type of repetition that occurs significantly more frequently than the other. However, when the Tiwi writers become more proficient at writing, and develop their written style, perhaps they will want to include more of the clause repetition, particularly for the purpose of emphasising a clause or the constituent of a clause. None of the Tiwi writers has yet been encouraged to independently edit their own or others' materials.

NOTES

1. The nominal arguments are Subject, Object, and Indirect Object. They are not marked for case, but are cross-referenced with different prefixes in the verb, for Subject, Object, and Indirect Object. The term 'Indirect Object' is used in Tiwi to include Benefactive Object and what could be termed 'Referent'. For example, 'I called to him', 'They did it to her'.

2. The 'complement' in Example 14 is 'lazy people'. There is no verb expressed in the Tiwi.

3. The verbal complement in Example 38 is 'straight', that is, 'make straight'.

ABBREVIATIONS

ad'ee	addressee
advis	advisability
2pers:	2nd person
call	a suffix on last word of exclamation to indicate it was called out
con.m	concomitative marker
cont	contrast
contin	continuous action
const.foc	construction focus
cv	connective
cont	continuous
dist	distant
dist:time	distance/time
dur	durative
emph	emphasis
eve	evening
3pers:emph	emphasis referring to 3rd person(s)
emot	emotive expression
excl	exclusive
f	feminine
foc	focus
Gen	Generic
hab	habitual
hort	hortatory
icve	inceptive
imp	imperative
incl	inclusive
incpt	incipient
loc	locative
m	masculine
mid:dist	in mid distance
morn	morning action
N-A	Negated-Antonym
n.p.	non-past
neg	negative
new:top	new topic
non-hum	non-human
p	past
para	paraphrase
pers	personal
pl	plural
proc	procedure
recip	reciprocal
rep	repetitive
sg	singular
spkr.emph	emphasis referring to speaker
stat	stative
tog	together
top-foc	topic focus

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Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 9
November 1985

IWAIDJA VERBAL CLAUSES

Noreen Pym

1. DEFINING THE VERBAL CLAUSES

Attempting to describe Iwaidja clauses using a traditional, or even a more modern, format is a frustrating experience. The Iwaidja system does not fit easily into either a description based on case or one based on clause types. The determining factor in Iwaidja is semantics, not form. E.g. the two following examples are identical in form, i.e. a verb in the second plural imperative followed by a noun. In the first, the meaning of the noun indicates that it is the reason for the action, the second, that it is the means.

(1) *Gud- burtinyurtiying yirta*
2p=imper-bathe mud

'Have a bath (because of) the mud.'

(2) *Gud- burtinyurtiying ubaj*
2p=imper-bathe water

'Have a bath (in) water.'

Most of the morphology in Iwaidja occurs on the verbs. Apart from nouns used for humans, which can be pluralised and some body parts which are inalienably possessed, the form of a non-verbal constituent is inviolate (does not change). There are thus no overt case markers or subject or object markers on non-verbal constituents.

In the verbal constituents there are no participles, infinitives or auxiliary verbs. Every verb is finite with obligatory person-number prefixation and optional directional and tense-aspect affixation. There may be a free-form adverb or a negative associated with the verb but this is not common.

The obligatory person-number prefixes divide the verbs into two main classes: transitive with subject and object prefixes, and intransitive with subject prefixes only. There are some grounds for considering the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb as the same form. I have discussed this in my paper, 'The Iwaidja Verb System: A Description', p. 127 of *Work Papers of SIL-AAB*, Series A, Vol. 2.

Strings of verbs are common in Iwaidja, but there is no difference in the form of the verb used alone as against one used in a string. I have examples of strings of up to ten verbs in the one breath group.

In the texts used there are approximately 200 examples of strings of verbs in the one breath group, accounting for 500 verbs—one fifth of the verbs occur in strings of two or more. On comparing texts from different speakers it is noted that the faster the speech the more strings of verbs there are. Some people string verbs together almost indefinitely while others, much more deliberate in speech, use many more non-verbal terms. Strings of verbs are used when the actions are simultaneous:

(3) *A- ban ad- mani*
I=3s-hold we=dual-sit

'I sit and hold him' (I hold him, we 2 sit.)

where there is a closely tied sequence of action:

(4) *Ri- malgba- ny r-udba- n*
he=3s-take=outside-p he=3s-put=down-p

'He took it off and put it down.'

in set phrases:

(5) *Ny- irta- n nya-ba- ng ba shovel*
to=I-return-p to=I-bring-p that shovel

'I brought the shovel back.'

where we would use a participle or infinitive in English:

(6) *Ngarru-rdaya-ng r-aharralbi-ny*
we=3s- see- p 3s-jump- p

'We saw (the horse) bucking.'

(7) *Yad- ban-ara arru-ban-arnugbun uga*
we=imper-fut-go we=3s-fut-get=oyster over=there

'Let's go to get oysters over there.'

and as the climax of the story approaches:

(8) *A- ri j-amang ri- nguldi-ny alanud burruli*
3s-stand 3s-work he=3s-make- p road good

'He's working at making a good road.' (From a story about the work her husband did which built up to the climax of the good road he was building.)

However, all verbs which occur in strings also occur as single verbs in clauses.

What does all of this mean for the analysis of clauses? The hypothesis, 'Each verb means a new clause', applied to text material yielded the following facts:

Of the 2,500 or so clauses handled,
48% consisted of a verb (± negative or adverb) only,
42% a verb and one non-verbal constituent,
9% a verb and two non-verbal constituents,
0.6% a verb and three non-verbal constituents,
and 0.08% (2 examples) a verb and four non-verbal constituents.

Thus 90% of the clauses consisted of a verb or a verb and one non-verbal constituent.

In the following sets of examples the only difference in the clause is the lexical item following the verb.

Intransitive verbs:

(9) *J-an-ara* *yilgi*
away=I-fut-go Palm=Bay

'I'm going (to) Palm Bay.'

(10) *J-an-ara* *yab*
away=I-fut-go fish

'I'm going (for) fish.'

(11) *J-an-ara* *guburr*
away=I-fut-go tomorrow

'I'm going tomorrow.'

(12) *J-an-ara* *ajbud*
away=I-fut-go beach

'I'm going (to/along) the beach.'

(13) *J-an-ara* *gubuny*
away=I-fut-go canoe

'I'm going (by) canoe/ (to) the canoe.'

example of verb plus adverb:

(14) *J-an-ara* *mangawarla*
away=I-fut-go fast

'I'm going fast.'

Transitive verbs:

(15) *A-ba-ldalgun* *yab*
I=3s-fut-cut fish

'I'll cut the fish.'

(16) *A-ba-ldalgun* *ajbud*
I=3s-fut-cut beach/sand

'I'll cut it at the beach/on the sand.'

(17) *A-ba-ldalgun* *guburr*
I=3s-fut-cut tomorrow

'I'll cut it tomorrow.'

(18) *A-ba-ldalgun* *jumung*
I=3s-fut-cut for=him

'I'll cut it for him.'

(19) *A-ba-ldalgun* *manjawag*
I=3s-fut-cut knife

'I'll cut it (with) a knife.'

As can be seen in the above sets of examples, ambiguity at the clause level is resolved by the semantic content of the non-verbal constituent or by context. It is also resolved by implied information or context of situation (and at higher levels by amplification, i.e. added clauses providing further information). E.g. the following series of verbs is taken from a text on gathering yams. Implied information is supplied in the gloss. (This information is retrievable by the Aborigine but not by the outsider.)

(20) *Ngarrurlhan* *jarrara* *ngarrugagan* *ngarrurdayan* *warndi*
we-enter away=we-go we-look-rep we=3s-see 3s-on

'We go into (the jungle), we look around (and) we see (the vine of the long yam) up (on the tree)

ngarrubirdbaldang *barduwa* *lda* *ngarrunjawu:n* *ngarruwartama*
we=3s-put=down compl and we=it-dig-cont we=3s-follow

we put down (our bags) and then we dig (with a digging stick) and we follow (stem of the vine down into the ground).'

2. CLAUSE TYPES

On first looking at clauses I posited one verbal clause type, that is, a clause in Iwaidja consists of a verb and up to four non-verbal constituents, the semantics or context determining the function of the non-verbal constituents.

In example (9) the function is Goal.
(10) Purpose.
(11) Time.
(12) Goal or Route.
(13) Goal or Means.
(15) Patient.
(16) Location.
(18) Benefactive
and (19) Instrument.

In the following examples the function is determined by the verb structure:

(21) *A-murdb-in* *marldu*
3p-fear-intrans wind

'They're afraid of the wind.'

(22) *Bu-murdb-an* *marldu*
3p=3s-fear-trans wind

'They fear the wind.'

In both examples the stem of the verb is the same, but (21) has intransitive *-in* and (22) transitive *-an*. *Marldu* 'wind' functions as source in (21) and as object in (22). Also *amurdbin marldu* 'They're afraid of the wind' in (21) parallels the speech verbs, most of which are intransitive, but may have free form objects such as 'story', 'song', 'law'.

(23) *A-ldaharrama* *inyman* *warruwi*
3p-speak/talk language Goulburn=Is.

'They're talking/speaking (in) the language of Goulburn Island.'

However, I have now decided there are two clause types, transitive and intransitive. The division is determined by the constituents obligatorily cross-referenced in the verb.

An intransitive clause has only the subject marked in the verb.

(24) *Ang-bani*
2s-sit

'You are sitting.'

(25) *Binggung ba wara yurrngud*
3s-arrive-p that 3s-go on=top

'The plane has come.'

(26) *Jarr-ara-n nanguj arrarnarn mudiga*
away=we-go-p yesterday oyster car

'Yesterday we went for oysters in the car.'

A transitive clause has its verb marked for subject as actor/agent and object as patient, recipient or person spoken to. It is the semantics of the verb which determines the function of the object.

Object functioning as patient:

(27) *Ang-mun-man*
2s-3p-take

'You're taking them.'

(28) *Ga-rangan wimung*
2s=3s-send to=3p

'You're sending it to them.'

(29) *A-bu-man-dung nuwurrung gudnuwulang ldungun*
to-3p=3s-get-habit for=2p your=pl=mothers yam

'Your mothers used to bring you yams.'

Object functioning as recipient:

(30) *Ang-mun-ugun*
2s-3p-give

'You're giving it to them.'

(31) *Aw-ugung Ngalwuyug janad ba shovel martan*
I=3s-give-p fem.=name her that shovel little

'I gave Ngalwuyug her little shovel.'

Object functioning as person spoken to:

(32) *Ang-mun-dalgan*
2s-3p-ask

'You're asking them.'

A sub-class of transitive verbs marked by *ang-* or *mam-* has a restricted morphology. First and second person object forms and third person singular subject forms do not occur and the third person object form is either *ang-* or *mam-* (depending on the verb and often carrying no apparent meaning). The form used for third person plural in other transitive verbs here means any third person singular or plural.

For example:

(33) *Ang-b-ayan*
earth-3-see

'He/she/they see the ground.'

(34) *Nam-b-irrguran*
obj-3-close

'He/she/they close it up.'

(35) *Ang-b-unman* *wimung yiwarruj warranuna* *ngarrgarrg*
obj-3-tell=story to=3p story pl-white=woman two

'He/she/they told the two white women a story.'

Note that while the cross-referencing within the verb is obligatory, the occurrence of the free form is not.

All other non-verbal constituents i.e. those not cross-referenced in the verb are considered to be peripheral. One of these, the directional, is optionally marked in the verb. With the exception of the transitive verbs in which the object functions as recipient or person spoken to, all verbs may carry a prefix denoting the direction of the action in relation to the hearer. Source or Goal/Location is cross-referenced in the verb when it is hearer-oriented.

For example:

(36) *Ya-w-ara-n* *wag*
away-3s-go-p Merganella

'He went to Merganella.' (away from hearer)

(37) *A-w-ara-n* *wag*
to-3s-go-p Merganella

'He came from Merganella.' (towards hearer)

(38) *Ya-bani* *wag*
away-3s=stay Merganella

'He's staying at Merganella.' (away from hearer)

(39) *J-an-ara* *yilgi*
away=I-fut-go Palm=Bay

'I'll go to Palm Bay.' (away from hearer)

(40) *Ny-an-ara* *yilgi*
to=I-fut-go Palm=Bay

'I'll come to Palm Bay.' (towards hearer - a message sent to hearer already at Palm Bay.)

As well as words and phrases, the non-verbal constituents may also be embedded (or rank-shifted) clauses.

Intransitive clause:

(41) *Ng-alidba-n bulldozer a-ldaharrama-n three week*
I-listen-p bulldozer 3p-talk-p three week

'I listened to the bulldozers making a noise for three weeks.'

Transitive clause:

(42) *Ngarru-rdayan a-ri ba ldungun*
we-3s-see 3s-stand that yam

'We see that yam standing (there).'

When Accompaniment occurs it is never ambiguous and is obligatorily marked by the word *ngalaj* (used only in this context) and the form *jumung* (which changes for person and number). An amplifying noun or phrase may also occur. There is always another non-verbal constituent present when Accompaniment is used.

For example:

(43) *Uga manggu ngad-bani ngalaj jumung wartad nuna*
in shade we-sit accompaniment one white=woman

'We're sitting in the shade with one white woman.'

The form *jumung* without *ngalaj* functions as Benefactive, Recipient or

person spoken to. It may be followed by an amplifying noun or noun phrase.

Benefactive: example (18)
Recipient: example (28)
Benefactive and recipient: example (29)

(44) *Baga ga-ldangan ngarrurrung inyman wimung a-widbarra-ga-n-ud*
that she-send to/for=us message to/for=3p 3p-white-dual-pl

'That one is sending a message to the two white people for us.' (Context showed that the message was 'to the white people for us' and not 'to us for the white people'.)

Person spoken to: example (35)

(45) *R-aharra-ny jumung ba barlbarragan Nawahaj*
3s-shout-p to=3s that 3s-old=person man's=name

'He/she shouted to the old man, Nawahaj.'

The forms *burran* 'from there' and *uga* 'over there' may optionally mark Source and Goal/Location.

Source marked:

(46) *Ay-an-ara ba arrarrbi burran warruwi*
to=3p-fut-go that pl=man from Goulburn=Is.

'Those men will come from Goulburn Island.'

(47) *A-w-ara-n burran uga*
to-3s-go-p from over there

'He came from over there.'

Source not marked:

(48) *Warrin w-ulgari-ny marldu baga ruli*
bush 3s-go=out-p wind that foot

'Out in the bush the air came out of that tyre.'

Goal marked:

(49) *Ya-w-urdi-ny* *ubug barta* *manandi*
away-3s-cross-p to(out of sight) mainland

'He crossed over to the mainland.'

Goal not marked:

(50) *Yinang yung-gurr-ara wilbanyan ba* *mirlag*
don't away-2p-go long that grass

'Don't go (where) the grass is long.'

Location marked:

(51) *Nga-wani uga warrin uga Merganella*
I-sit at bush at Merganella

'I'm living in the bush at Merganella.'

Location not marked:

(52) *A-wani* *manggu*
3p-sit shade

'They're sitting in the shade.'

Word order in the Iwaidja clause is normally the verb first with other constituents following. There is some tendency for time or location to occur finally and also a tendency for phrases or embedded clauses to occur clause final. Such phrases and clauses usually contain new information.

(53) *J-ara-n* *ngunjul wurji* *gabal*
away=I-go-p turtle dig.=stick plain

'I went (for) turtles (with) a digging stick (to) the plain.'

(54) *Ij-bu-ldaharra-n* *warrwag* *jumung arjambuj jumung ang-bu-yawu-ng*
away-3p-shout-p long=time to=3s hole where earth-3p-dig-p

'They shouted for a long time at the hole where they had dug.'

All occurrences of non-verbal constituents preceding the verb in a clause can be accounted for by the context of situation in the larger text. They mark such things as paragraph breaks, changes in subject, focus and emphasis.

3. CONCLUSION

Iwaidja verbal clauses are of two types: transitive and intransitive. The cross-referencing in the verb of nuclear clause constituents determines to which type of clause a particular example belongs. The normal clause word order is verb first.

ABBREVIATIONS

compl	completive
cont	continuous
dig	digging
fem	feminine
fut	future tense
habit	habitual
imper	imperative
intrans	intransitive
obj	object marker
p	past tense
pl	plural
trans	transitive
2s	2nd person singular
3s	3rd person singular
2p	2 person plural
3p	3rd person plural
3	3rd person, singular or plural

Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 9
November 1985

MURINBATA NOUN CLASSES

Chester S. Street

1. DESCRIPTION OF NOUN CLASSES

Each noun in Murinbata[1] belongs to one of ten noun classes.[2] The class marker in each case precedes the noun, although is not obligatory.[3] These noun classes, including their negative forms, can also be used alone conveying the meaning of anything listed in that particular class.[4]

Negation to all but two of the noun classes can be made with the prefix

ma-. The exceptions are *da* (No. 4) and *murrinh* (No. 9) which are negated by the use of the word *manangka*.

The noun classes are as follows:

1. *kardu* — Human beings, male and female (Aboriginal only)
Human spirits, i.e. spirit children and the soul
Kinsip terminology

e.g.
kardu thipmam	'black person (Aboriginal)'
kardu ngarrithngarrith	'spirit children'
kardu ngepan	'soul/spirit of a living person'
kardu pule	'old man, leader, husband'

Negative form = *makardu* 'no person, no-one, etc.'

2. *ku* — Animals, birds, insects and marine life
The flesh of the above and also of man
The spirit world (other than in No. 1)
Human beings, male and female (non-Aboriginal)
The products of animals, birds, insects, and marine life, i.e. honey, eggs, nest

e.g.
ku lawarnka	'wallaby'
ku kananganthan	'emu'
ku tharnu	'barramundi'
ku ngen	'flesh/meat'
ku karrath	'human ghost'
ku Kangkarlmawu	'God' (lit. the spirit who abides above)
ku thithay	'wild honey'
ku dirri	'bird's nest'

Negative form = *maku* 'no animal, no bird, no flesh, etc.'

3. *nanthi* — Most natural substances and objects, i.e. stone, wax, trees, grass, saltwater, etc.
The inedible parts of animals, etc. (bones, feathers, etc.) and plants (bark, leaves)
Body parts of human beings
Most natural phenomena, i.e. fog, smoke, wind, heavenly bodies
Urine and human milk
Artifacts
Implements
Song and dance

Most introduced articles, i.e. billy can, truck, petrol, books, paper, etc.

e.g. *nanthi thay* 'tree'
nanthi lalingkin 'salt water, ocean'
nanthi murnu 'bone'
nanthi mange 'hand'
nanthi thapak 'fog, dew'
nanthi yi 'dilly bag'
nanthi kiningka 'digging stick'
nanthi thamarl 'a song'

Negative form = *mananthi* 'no trees, no wind, nothing, etc.

4. *da*

Camps, living places
Localities
Time
Seasons

e.g. *ngarra da* 'at home'
da Nangu 'Nangu (place name)'
da thipinhi 'night time'
da mirrangan 'cold season'

Negative form = *manangka da* 'no camp, no time, etc.'

5. *mi*

Vegetable foodstuffs
Fruit
Faeces

e.g. *mi thanka* 'yam'
mi kugalng 'fruit from Kurrajong tree'

Negative form = *mami* 'no food, etc.'

6. *kura*

Fresh water, rain
Any liquid that is drinkable (except milk, No. 3)

e.g. *kura ngipilinh* 'fresh water river/creek'
kura yelyel 'rain'

Negative form = *makura* 'no water, no rain, etc.'

7. *thu*

Offensive weapons, i.e. boomerang, fighting sticks, etc. (not spears, No. 8)
Thunder and lightning
Playing cards

e.g. *thu kuragadha* 'boomerang'
thu malarntath 'thunder and lightning'

Note:
Nouns from other classes can become members of this class if used for offensive or destructive purposes.

e.g. *nanthi palyirr* 'a stone' can become *thu palyirr* if for example it is used to throw at someone.
nanthi wirrirr 'the wind' can become *thu wirrirr* if it is of a destructive nature like a cyclone.

Negative form = *mathu* 'no weapons, etc.'

8. *thamul* All types of spears

e.g. *thamul ngaramath* 'one-sided barbed spear'
thamul nguni 'short light bamboo spear'

Negative form = *mathamul* 'no spears'

9. *murrinh* Speech, language, names
Places associated with talk or learning
Non-Aboriginal songs
Stories, legends, news

e.g. *murrinh mamay* 'children's talk'
murrinh thelerrthe 'news'
murrinh school 'school'

Negative form = *manangka murrinh* 'no word, no story, etc.'

10. *thungku* Fire
Firearms
Electricity

e.g. *thungku len* 'hot coals'
thungku thay 'fire wood'
thungku gun 'gun, rifle'

Negative form = *mathungku* 'no fire, etc'

NOTES

1. Murinbata (Murrinh-patha) belongs to the Garaman Language Family, and is spoken by approximately 1,000 people, the majority of whom live at Port Keats—Wadeye, Northern Territory, 250 kilometres to the south-west of Darwin, Australia.

2. This list has been based upon an original analysis by Stanner. He referred to these noun classes as 'Existence Classes'. (Stanner, p. 74.)

Tryon also lists noun classes he has discovered in the Daly River languages. He gives examples from sixteen Daly River languages and dialects, the majority of which have 4 and 5 noun classes, and a few having 7 and 8 noun classes. He summarises these noun classes as follows (p. 293):

Class 1: Body parts, kinship terms, natural phenomena.
2: Animals hunted for meat.
3: Vegetable food and plants.
4: Wooden implements, trees, weapons
5: Trees (as opposed to implements, wood products).
6: Male humans.
7: Female humans.
8: Domesticated animals.

3. Grammatical speech requires the noun classes to precede the nouns in all cases, although in common speech it is quite normal for them to be omitted. However, they tend to be obligatory when used to classify introduced words.

e.g. *mi banana* 'banana'
nanthi oil 'oil'

4. The use of a noun class by itself does not create any confusion in conversation as it is used only when representing a given topic which is already known to the listener.

For example, within a given paragraph the topic, for instance, could be about hunting wallaby, i.e. *ku lawarnka*. Once the listener knows the topic, the speaker need only refer to it by its noun class thereafter, i.e. *ku*, and wallaby is understood.

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Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 9
November 1985

CLAUSES IN KALA LAGAW YA

Rod Kennedy

0. INTRODUCTION

Data for the following paper was recorded in the islands of the Western Torres Strait between September, 1976 and May, 1983, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The Kala Lagaw Ya (or Kala Lagaw Language) has also been called Kalaw Kawaw Ya, a dialectical variant. Both names mean Back Island Language, 'back' meaning Western. Two other names that have been used in the

literature are Yagar-Yagar and Mabuiag, although this last name has always been reserved by speakers of the language for the dialect spoken on Mabuiag Island. Speakers of other dialects object to its use for the language they speak.

Kala Lagaw Ya is described by Vogelin and Vogelin (1977:279) as belonging to the Pama Maric subgroup of the Pama Nyungan language family of Australia.

Most of the research for this paper has been carried out on Saibai Island. Shorter periods have been spent on the Islands of Dauan and Boigu where dialects similar to Saibai Dialect are used. Two months were also spent on Mabuiag Island. The total population of Kala Lagaw Ya speakers probably numbers between three and five thousand, with thousands more having some knowledge of the language. Centres of language use include the islands already mentioned as well as Badu, Moa, and Thursday Islands, and also Bamaga on Cape York.

In preparing this paper I am greatly indebted to our many friends on Saibai and other islands who have been such painstaking teachers of their language. Two native speakers of the language who have also shared many of their valuable theoretical insights with me are linguist Ephraim Bani and linguistics student Dan Ober. I have also benefited from papers written on the Mabuiag Dialect by Bani and Klokied. I would like to express my special appreciation to my S.I.L. colleague, Carol Morris, who worked closely with me in the writing of this article. I have also received guidance in research and editorial assistance from my S.I.L. colleagues, Noreen Pym and George Huttar who have helped me greatly.

This paper deals with Independent Clauses. Dependent Clauses are formed by adding a conjunction to Independent Clauses. These will be dealt with at sentence level.

Sections 2 and 3 describe Transitive and Intransitive Clauses respectively. The vast majority of verbal clauses found in language text material fall into these two categories. Section 4 deals with two non-verbal clause types (1) Equative Clauses, and (2) Non-verbal Motion Clauses which clearly indicate motion through the noun case suffix system. Unlike verbal motion clauses, they do not indicate the manner of motion.

Section 5 describes less common clause types which have the same verb stems carrying the same kinds of meanings as transitive clauses, but in all other respects show a strong shift towards intransitive clause morphology.

1. PERIPHERAL ITEMS

Peripheral items behave in the same way in all the clause types discussed in this paper. The peripheral slots are filled by the following items: Mood is filled by a mood word and Time by a time word or a time phrase. Location, Route, Goal, Source, and Instrument slots are respectively filled by phrases of these types. Any one of the above phrase types is formed by adding appropriate suffixes to certain words in any phrase. The same suffix occurs on as many of these words as are present in a phrase: relator word, noun, and on one class of post position words.

(1) *Nuy se-pa laga-pa muy-pa*
he there-GOA house-GOA inside-GOA

'He is going inside the house.'

(2) *Nuy se-zi laga-ngu muy-nguz*
he there-SOU house-SOU inside-SOU

'He is coming out of the house.'

(3) *Nuy sey-ki maza-ya adh-ia*
he there-ROU reef-ROU outside-ROU

'He is going outside the reef.'

The minimum form for any phrase is one word filling the head slot. For the following types more than one phrase of one type may occur in the same clause: Time, Location, Goal, and Route Phrases.

There is a considerable degree of freedom in word order for all clause types, but the variations are used to produce special effects of focus and emphasis. Among peripheral items location has not been found to occur with source or goal, and neither time nor mood has been found after the sequence of predicate followed by any other peripheral item. Some further comments on word order accompany the descriptions of peripheral and nuclear items for different clause types.

2. TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

A transitive clause in Kala Lagaw Ya consists of three core items: subject, accusative object and predicate, and up to two optional peripheral items from among the following: mood, time, location, route, goal, source, and instrument. Up to two core items may be omitted where no ambiguity results. The common word order for nuclear items is subject, object, verb. The subject consists of a noun phrase or

pronoun. If the head of the noun phrase is a non-plural common noun it will be marked with the ergative suffix *-n*. Singular pronoun subjects of transitive clauses are marked with the suffix *-dh* for ergative. The object consists of a noun phrase with an unmarked noun head or by an accusative pronoun. The predicate slot consists of a transitive verb phrase or by the pro-verb *kedha*. The head of a transitive verb is recognizable because it takes an object number suffix. (See Kalaw Kawaw Verbs, p , this publication). The suffixes denoting number and those denoting tense-aspect vary in form at several points in the conjunction from those used for intransitive verbs.

Transitive clauses where the predicate is filled by *kedha* meaning 'thus' frequently occur as an echo of the previous clause, with *kedha* standing for the previous predicate. This is an emphatic device.

(4) *Wa nuy kedha*
yes he thus

'Yes, that is what he did.'

(5) (The minimal form used where the listener knows the identity of the actor and the potential undergoer.)

Gasama-n
catch-COM

'(The actor) caught (it).'

(6) (Using two phrases of the same type.)

Nuy-dh Saybayl-ga-w maza-pa thardha-n waru-pa
he-ERG Saibai-people-GEN reef-GOA pilot-COM turtle-GOA

'He piloted (a dingy) to the reef of the Saibai people for turtle.'

(7) (A maximum example. It appears that not only is the number of peripheral items limited to two but that the maximum number of items filling the slots in any one clause is four. In other words two peripherals may occur but only where one of the nuclear items may be left understood.)

Nuy-dh Surum-pa thardha-n adh-ia
he-ERG Surum-GOA pilot-COM outer-ROU

'He piloted (a dingy) to Surum by the outer route.'

In the above example the dingy, the Accusative Object, is omitted. The limitation appears to be on the number of clause level items appearing,

not the number of phrase level items. In the following example which has the maximum number of clause level items, the object is filled by an Appositional Noun Phrase which also includes a diectic word.

(8) *Thana na-n kuyk sena tri dola-pa youdha-n*
they+PL she-ACC head there 3 dollar-GOA sell-COM

'They sold it, that head, for three dollars for the church.'

(9) *Nga-th mina koeyma aga thurika-n patha-n*
I-ERG very many axe gardening-INS cut-COM

'I have cut many of them with an axe.'

Though Ergative Subject and Instrument both take the same suffixes (*-n* for a common noun and *-dh* for a singular pronoun) the distinction between them is clearly established. Ergative Subjects are usually living creatures. It appears that the criterion for distinction is whether the subject acts independently. In the opinion of language speaker Imasu Waigana of Saibai, the sun and the grass are included among ergative subjects, not instruments. In the following two examples, Imasu reasons that they are not instruments because they act independently.

(10) *Bupa-n bisi mathama-n*
grass-ERG cassava strike-COM

'The grass choked the cassava.'

(11) *Ngoena goeygi-n gasama-n*
me+ACC sun-ERG catch-COM

'The sun had made me ill.'

Contrast the following reflexive construction where 'axe' is the instrument.

(12) *Ngay ngaw-ngu aga thurika-n lab-iz*
I me-SOU axe gardening-INS cut-COM

'I cut myself with an axe.'

Instrument occurs in Intransitive Clauses as well as Reflexive Clauses whereas Ergative Subjects occur in neither of these clause types. The verb used in Example 12 is intransitive.

3. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

An Intransitive Clause in Kala Lagaw Ya consists of two core items, subject and predicate, and up to two optional peripheral items. One of the core items will often be omitted where no ambiguity results. The common word order is subject before predicate. The subject consists of a noun phrase or pronoun, neither of these fillers being marked for case. The predicate consists of an Intransitive Verb Phrase or the pro-verb *kedha*.

An intransitive verb differs in several respects from a transitive verb.

1. Following the stem is a suffix marking subject number if the subject is dual or plural. This contrasts with transitive verbs where the corresponding suffix marks object number. The suffixes used are listed in Table 5.1.

2. Where the verb is not marked for dual or plural subject, special forms of the tense aspect suffixes are used for the today past, the completive, and the future forms of the verb. These special forms contrast with the alternative forms used for intransitive verbs marked for non-singular subject and for all transitive verbs.

(13) *Nuy ngaya-pa nagi-z*
he me-GOA look-COM

'He looked at me.'

(14) *Palay ngaya-pa nage-ma-n*
they+DU me-GOA look-DU-n

'They both looked at me.'

(15) *Thana ngaya-pa nage-ma-n*
They+PL me-GOA look-PL-COM

'They all looked at me.'

Kedha, 'thus', can stand in place of a predicate. Clauses with this word are used commonly as a quote formula.

(16) *Palay na-bepa kedha*
they+DU she-GOA thus

'Those two said to her.'

In all four examples above, the predicates would not be altered in any way if the goal were made dual or plural. Intransitive predicates are

cross referenced only to the subject. The distinctive form of the completive aspect marker *-iz* is used where the predicate is not marked for dual or for plural subject.

Verb suffixes normally used only with intransitive verbs with singular subjects are on rare occasions used with such transitive verbs as *im* 'to see' and *gasam*, 'to grasp'. Dana Ober (personal communication) says that this device emphasises the unity or close bunching of the items referred to in the object. (See Kalaw Kawaw Verbs (p) for a fuller description.)

(17) *Nga-th koewsa im-iz*
I-ERG fruit see-COM

'I see fruit (in a bunch or grouping)'

A minimal form is acceptable where a question has been asked establishing the identity of the subject is understood. E.g., a child may be crying.

(18) *Pud-iz*
Fall-COM

'(He/she/it) fell.'

(19) (Maximum occurrence)

Kulay kay pay-pa Sathana-n pawa-nu mabayg
first then before-GOA Satan-GEN custom-LOC person

ni-paruy si
reside-HAB there

'Long age in the time of heathen customs a person lived there.'

The above example has an imbedded clause fulfilling the function of a time phrase.

(20) *Ngay kay ngi-bia uthu-y*
I then thou-ROU sleep-COM

'May I sleep at your place?'

(21) *Na ngara-n uzara-ydhin*
she leg-INS go-HP

'She went by foot.'

4. NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Two non-verbal clause types occurring in Kala Lagaw Ya are Equative and Non-verbal Motion.

4.1 EQUATIVE CLAUSE.

An Equative Clause consists of an obligatory Topic consisting of a diectic word or an unmarked pronoun or noun phrase, followed by an obligatory Comment. The Comment carries clause stress distinguishable from phrase stress by greater loudness, length, and higher pitch. It is common for the Comment to be a noun phrase of several words whereas the Topic is normally much briefer.

An Equative Clause is distinguishable from an Appositional Noun Phrase of almost identical internal structure. The Equative Clause had a decrescendo, pitch drop, and post pause. The Appositional Phrase will be separated from the verbal predication or from a non-verbal Comment by a shorter phrase level pause. Also the phrase final drop in pitch and decrescendo is slightly less marked. The Comment of a Equative Clause always carries clause level stress greater in intensity than phrase level stress.

(22) *Thana kawayga-l //*
they+PL aborigine-PL PAUSE

'They are Aborigines.'

(23) *Thana kawayga-l / wara para-lgal //*
they+PL aborigine-PL PAUSE other custom-having+PL PAUSE

'Those Aborigines have different customs.'

The two clauses above may be compared with the Intransitive Clause which has an Appositional Phrase subject.

(24) *Thana kawayga-l pathe-mi-n*
they+PL aborigine-PL embark-PL-COM

'These Aborigines have departed (by boat or other vehicle).'

An example of a Stative Clause with a diectic word as Topic.

(25) *Ina misin laga-w tham lawnga*
this+SG church house-GEN branch no

'This branch (of firewood) does not belong to the manse.'

4.2 NON-VERBAL MOTION CLAUSES

A Non-verbal Motion Clause has the same range of possible constituents as an Equative Clause except that the Comment never includes an Equative item (one having the same referent as the Topic). It also differs from an Equative Clause in two other respects. Firstly, at least one non-verbal motion item must be included (location, goal, route or source). Secondly, the Non-verbal Motion Clauses bear a close structural and semantic similarity to Intransitive Clauses indicating motion. Non-verbal Motion Clauses differ from Intransitive Clauses in that they never have a predicate but the non-verbal motion item is obligatory. Intransitive Clauses always have a predicate unless this is clearly understood as in an echo of a proceding clause. The non-verbal motion item is optional. Semantically the Non-verbal Motion Clause is distinctive as it specifies motion but does not specify the manner of motion. Compare the examples of Non-verbal Motion, Examples 26-29, below with the intransitive clauses 30-31.

(26) *Nuy Bruma-ngu sey-zi Pot Dawini-pa*
he Broome-SOU there-SOU Port Darwin-GOA

'He travelled from Broome to Darwin.'

(27) *Nuy Bruma-ngu*
he Broome-SOU

'He has come from Broome.'

(28) *Nuy Bruma-ngu playn-ia*
he Broome-SOU plane-ROU

'He has come from Broome by plane.'

(29) *Nuy Pot Dawini-nu*
he Port Darwin-LOC

'He is in Darwin.'

(30) *Nuy Bruma-ngu zilam-iz*
he Broome-SOU travel:fast-COM

'He came quickly from Broome.'

(31) *Nuy zilam-iz*
he travel:fast-COM

'He is travelling quickly/travelled quickly.'

5. TWO OTHER CLAUSES

These two clause types are treated together because both employ verb stems usually found in Transitive Clauses. In all other respects of their morphology, they resemble Intransitive Clauses.

5.1 REFLEXIVE CLAUSE

Reflexive Clauses are clearly distinguishable from Transitive Clauses, differing in each of the following respects:

1. They have nominative, not ergative, subjects.

2. They do not have accusative objects.

3. The verb suffixes which show subject number are of the form used for intransitive verbs.

4. If the verb is in the form used for a singular subject, the tense-aspect suffixes for recent past, completive, and future are of the type used for intransitive, not transitive verbs.

5. Many verbs in singular form take 'e' or 'i' after the root when used in a Reflexive Clause (as in Intransitive Clauses).

Reflexive Clauses differ from Intransitive Clauses in two respects.

1. Following the nominative subject, a pronoun with the same referent but marked for source with the suffix *-ngu* occurs. The pronoun may be omitted if the reflexive meaning is otherwise obvious, but if the pronoun occurs it must be marked *-ngu*.

2. The verb in a Reflexive Clause may possess a root such as normally occurs in a Transitive Clause.

(32) *Na na-nungu lab-iz*
she she-SOU cut-COM

'She cut herself.'

(33) *Na-dh nuy-n laba-n*
she-ERG he-ACC cut:shallow-COM

'She cut him shallowly.'

Compare these examples with a normal intransitive construction.

(34) *Na nu-bepa kurusapag-iz*
she he-GOA listen-COM

'She listened to him.'

5.2 SUB-ERGATIVE CLAUSES

Sub-ergative Clauses are distinguishable from all the types outlined above for the following reasons.

1. They take nominative, not ergative, subjects. (Two doubtful exceptions have been noted where ergative subjects occur.)

2. Objects are nearly always group plurals marked with suffix *-n*. (See 5.3 below Two Sub-types.)

3. The verb sometimes takes 'e' or 'i' after the root where the verb is not inflected for dual or plural subject. (i.e. the intransitive pattern is followed.)

4. Occasionally a non-singular object will be cross-referenced to the verb but when this occurs for a plural object the suffix used is *-mu*, which is used elsewhere to indicate that an intransitive verb has a plural subject. At other times however the suffix *-moey* is used. This suffix is used elsewhere to indicate that a transitive verb has a plural object.

5. The special forms of tense-aspect suffix used where an intransitive has not been inflected for dual or plural subject have not been found in Sub-ergative Clauses.

There are two sub-types of the sub-ergative clauses.

5.2.1 SUB-TYPE ONE

If the speaker wishes to emphasise that the plural object of the verb is a complete set (e.g., all the men of a hamlet, or all the poles to build a hunting shelter, or all the food for a feast), the plural noun object will take the collective plural, or plural set suffix *-n*. Other features of Sub-ergative Clauses will then occur as set out above.

5.2.2 SUB-TYPE TWO

When the past habitual tense-aspect, shown by the verb suffix *-pu*, is used, sub-ergative properties frequently co-occur. There would be good grounds for separating these as different clause types except that plural sets frequently occur with past habitual tense. Apparently there is a strong tendency to view the total result or output of a person's habitual activity as a complete set. The Sub-ergative Clauses arising from the use of plural sets and from the use of past habitual tense-aspect could perhaps be described as overlapping subtypes.

In elicited material of this type the object number cross referencing is dropped from the verb in almost every case. In text material, however, this cross referencing is retained in a significant minority of cases. Because the same suffix *-n* is used on common nouns to show ergative case, instrument case and group plural and is used on masculine proper names to indicate genitive case and accusative case, a learner of the language may readily become confused. For example:

(35) *Na-dh wapi-n woeydha-n*
she-ERG fish-INS stew-COM

'She made fish stew.'

(I made the error of assuming that fish was the object of the verb 'stew' but it later emerged in discussion with Dan Ober that 'fish' is the instrument and that the object or the undergoer is the saucepan. This is true even when the saucepan is not mentioned. It is apparently not possible for the language to construct a sentence using this verb where 'fish' is the object. Dan's judgement has been vindicated by the intuitions of other speakers of the language and by data analysis. Hence in this language one does not gather mangoes but one gathers heaps, using mangoes and one loads canoes using coconuts.)

The following are examples of Sub-ergative Clauses contrasted with other types.

(36) *Aytha-nu kulay mabayga-n nuy matha-moey-dhin*
Aith-LOC first person-GP he strike-PL-HP

'First he destroyed all the people of Aith (village).'

The above clause may be converted to a Transitive Clause thus: *nuy* has the ergative suffix *-dh* added and the plural set suffix *-n* is changed to the normal plural suffix *-l*. The overall meaning will then become: 'He struck down the men from Aith'. It is no longer indicated that some complete set of men (in this case fighting men) were involved. Another

speaker gave (in text) a sentence of very
similar meaning concerning the same individual.

(37) *Nuy mabayga-n uma matha-mi-pu*
he person-PL death hit-PL-PHAB

'By degrees he struck down dead all those people.'

In the following example the last word of the noun phrase *dhangal waruya* is inflected for route. In a similar Transitive Clause this would be uninflected and be an accusative object noun phrase. However, accusative case is not permissable in Sub-ergative Clauses.

(38) *Nuy dhangal waru-ya lume-pu*
he dugong turtle-ROU search-HAB

'He used to search about for dugong and turtle.'

(39) *Ngi-nu mabayga-n ngi-n ugay-pa*
thou-GEN person-GP thou-ACC await-INC

'All your people are waiting for you.'

Normally *nginu mabaygan* would be inflected for plural with an *-l* on *mabayg* but here it carries the group plural suffix. If suffix *-n* as an indicator of group plurality were found only on nominals falling in the normal object slot, it could be argued that 'Switched Ergative' is as legitimate a name for the morphemes *-n* as is the name 'Group Plural'. However there are numbers of examples like No. 30 casting some doubt on the notion that any such switching is the fundamental process taking place.

Table 5.1 CONTRASTIVE FEATURES FOR DIFFERENT CLAUSE TYPES

Contrastive Feature	Transitive Clause	Intransitive Clause
Subject Suffix	The subject is marked for ergative with the suffix *-n* for non-plural nouns and *-dh* for singular pronouns	No case suffix on the subject (nominative subject)
Object Feature	Accusative noun objects take no case suffix. Singular pronouns in accusative case take suffix *-n*.	No accusative object, but Goal, Source, Route, Location, or Instrument Phrases may occur
'e' or 'i' following the verb root	Very rare	Occurs commonly when the verb is in singular form
Verb Cross Referencing	If the object is non-singular this is shown by a verb suffix *-m* for dual *-moey* for plural	If the subject is non singular this is shown by a verb suffix *-m* for dual *-mi* for plural

Table 5.1 presents a summary of the information so far presented.

6. WORD ORDER

A considerable degree of word order variation occurs for all clause types. There are a few observable patterns. For Stative Clauses, the topic commonly occurs first. The common orders for nuclear items in verbal clauses are:

1. Transitive Clauses have subject, object, predicate.

2. Intransitive Clauses have subject then predicate.

It appears that variation to the above order may occur where the speaker wishes to focus on different words or phrases with particular emphasis. For example, a nominal will often occur at the end of a clause if it is further dealt with in the following clause.

Contrastive Feature	Reflexive Clause	Sub-ergative Clause
Subject Suffix	Nominative subject as for intransitive	Nominative subject as for intransitive
Object Feature	No accusative object but the equivalent nominal, the self who undergoes the action, is inflected *-ngu* as for source	The object is inflected -n for collective plural
'e' or 'i' following the verb root	As for intransitive	As for intransitive
Verb Cross Referencing	As for intransitive	The verb is optionally cross referenced for plural object. When a suffix does occur it may be of the form *-moey* as for Transitive Clauses or *-mi* as found on intransitive plural subjects.

7. WHY NOT HAVE A DATIVE CASE?

The suffix *-pa* sometimes indicates physical motion by the actor towards the item carrying that suffix. At other times the same suffix indicates a purpose or beneficiary. On this basis one could choose to declare that *-pa* indicates destination in some contexts and dative case in others. I have chosen not to adopt such a division for two reasons:

1. Many instances would be difficult to assign to one category or the other.
2. The case suffixes, source, route, and location, all have analogous extensions of meaning beyond movement in space to concepts which in other languages could be said to fall within one dative case. In other words there appears not to be a dative case but rather the corresponding function is dealt with as an extension of several

different cases which also refer to simple motion. A brief summary of the range of meanings associated with each suffix is given in Table 7.1 below. For a fuller discussion see 'Semantic Roles: The Language Speaker's Categories' (Kennedy 1984.)

Table 7.1 RANGES OF MEANING ASSOCIATED WITH CASE SUFFIXES

Range of Application	Suffix and Meaning			
	-pa	*-nu*	*-ia*	*-ngu*
Space	moving towards	stationary at	route of actor's motion	starting place of origin
Time	approaching a time	at a time	throughout a time span	time of starting
Benefit	recipient			source or looser
Relationship	with respect to	in a person's head or heart	agreement with another opinion	fear avoidance or dislike

8. FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

8.1 ERGATIVE CONSTRUCTION

It is interesting to speculate on the significence of ergative constructions by comparing the situations where they occur with situations that give rise to sub-ergative constructions. Plainly the occurance of ergative correlates highly with the occurance of transitive action, but the Sub-ergative Clauses also signify actions of the same type. It is significant that the subject drops its ergative marker optionally in the case of habitual action and almost invariably where the object is a plural set. Further, there is a tendency to use sub-ergative forms where a clause is used in a figurative rather than a literal sense.

(40) *Nuy Wakimab mabayga-n purati-pa*
He Wakimab person-GP eat-INC

'Wakimab killed every one of them.'

It appears that anything which suggests that a transitive action was not a single physical event completed at one time tends to promote a swing away from ergative morphology.

8.2 UNINFLECTED NOUNS

A limited range of uninflected nouns occur as part of Intransitive Verb Phrases.

(41) *Nuy ngaya-pa dhang toeyd-iz*
he me-GOA tooth bite-COM

'He attempted to bite me (not a severe bite).'

Other nouns which can be used with such verb phrases are set out in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 UNINFLECTED NOUNS COMMONLY FOUND IN NON-TRANSITIVE VERB PHRASES

Noun		Verb		Action Denoted by the Verb Phrase
tooth	+	bite	=	nip
work	+	go	=	work
walk	+	go	=	walk
beard	+	cut	=	shave (applies to a reflexive construction)

8.3 TENSE-ASPECT SUFFIXES

In Table 8.2 below are set out different forms of tense-aspect suffixes. In the left hand column are shown the forms which occur for intransitive verbs and verbs used reflexively where the verb is not cross-referenced for a dual or plural subject. In the right hand column are the general forms used for non-singular intransitive and reflexive constructions and for all transitive verbs

Table 8.2 SINGULAR NON-TRANSITIVE FORMS OF TENSE-ASPECT SUFFIXES

Tense-aspect	Singular Form	General Form
Today Past	*-ma*	*-nu*
Completive	*-iz*	*-n*
Future	*-de*	*-ne*

For other tense-aspects such as distant past, past habitual, yesterday past, and inceptive, this kind of dichotomy of morphemes does not occur. There is only one form of suffix for each tense-aspect but for many verbs where the same root is used in transitive and intransitive verbs, 'e' or 'i' will replace 'a' or 'ay' stem finally. For many verbs the same thing happens when the verb is used reflexively. However because of the complex interplay of morphology and phonology more research is required before a morpheme *-e* can be identified and defined. It may be found that *-e* is a morpheme denoting non-transitive action.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative case
COM	completive case
DU	dual
ERG	ergative case
GEN	genitive case
GOA	goal
GP	group plural
HAB	habitual aspect
HP	historic past tense
INC	incompletive aspect
INS	instrument
LOC	location
P	past tense
PHAB	past action that took place by degrees
PL	plural
ROU	route
SG	singular
SOU	source
:	indicates that more than one English word is required to translate one vernacular morpheme
+	indicates morpheme cannot be broken from word.
0	zero morpheme

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Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 9
November 1985

KALAW KAWAW VERBS

Rod Kennedy

0. INTRODUCTION

Research for this paper has been done primarily on Saibai, Dauan, and Boigu Islands of the Western Torres Strait, where the Kalaw Kawaw dialect of Kala Lagaw Ya is spoken. The language name will hereafter be shortened to KLY and the dialect name to KKY.

KLY is basically a SOV (Subject, Object, Verb) word order language. Variations of this common order occur to produce special effects of

focus and emphasis. The language has only two basic regular verb conjugations, transitive and intransitive. There are also a few irregular verbs as well as many slight variations to the basic conjugations which may either be described in terms of numerous conjugation subtypes or by morphophonemic processes.

1. THE TWO BASIC VERB CONJUGATIONS

1.1 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs in KLY take number suffixes which agree with the number of their object. Transitive verb occurrence is also indicated by ergative and accusative suffixes occurring on subjects and objects respectively. The transitive verb takes a number suffix for dual and plural objects. Ergative and accusative suffixes attach to singular pronouns only. Common nouns, if singular or dual, take ergative suffixes. There is no suffix for accusative case on common nouns. Plural nouns take pluralizing suffixes but not ergative or accusative suffixes. Examples below illustrate object number concordance for Transitive Clauses.

(1)
Na-dh nuy-n patha-o-nu
she-ERG he-ACC cut-SG-TP

'She cut him (earlier today).'

(2)
Na-dh palay patha-moe-nu
she-ERG they+DU cut-DU-TP

'She cut the two of them (earlier today).'

(3)
Na-dh thana patha-moey-nu
she-ERG they+PL cut-PL-TP

'She cut them (earlier today).'

(4)
Palay nuy-n patha-o-nu
they+DU he-ACC cut-SG-TP

'Those two cut him (earlier today).'

1.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs take a number suffix which agrees with the number of the subject. These nominative subjects do not take any suffix to indicate noun case.

(5) _____

Na pathe-o-ma
she embark-SG-TP

'She left by vehicle (earlier today).'

(6) _____

Palay pathe-moe-nu
they+DU embark-DU-TP

'Those two left by vehicle (earlier today).'

(7) _____

Thana pathe-mi-nu
they+PL embark-PL-TP

'They left by vehicle (earlier today).'

There is no discrete verb suffix to indicate singular subject or object, as there is to indicate dual and plural. The form of the Today Past tense suffix for intransitive verbs with singular subjects is different from the common form used in all the others shown. There is one other tense and one aspect for which a distinctive form of suffix occurs for intransitive verbs with singular subjects. (See Table 1.1)

TABLE 1.1 INTRANSITIVE VERB SUFFIXES

TENSE OR ASPECT	SINGULAR SUBJECT FORM OF VERB	DUAL SUBJECT FORM OF VERB
Future	*pathe-dhe*	*pathe-moe-ne*
Today Past	*pathe-ma*	*pathe-moe-nu*
Completive	*path-iz*	*pathe-ma-n* *pathe-moemoe-n*

With intransitive verbs, the tenses and aspects shown take distinctive suffixes where the subject is singular. The verb *pathe*, 'to depart by vehicle', is a typical case.

2. KKY TENSES AND ASPECTS

KKY has two aspect categories which are used more commonly than any other tense or aspect. The two aspects between them cover events past, present and future whenever the time of the action does not need to be indicated with great precision. They are Imcompletive and Completive aspects, occurring as follows.

2.1 INCOMPLETIVE ASPECT (*-pa*)

Incompletive aspect is indicated by the suffix *-pa* in the KKY dialect and by *-ka* in the dialect of KLY used on Mabuiag and Badu.

(8) *Nuy-dh wapi lumay-pa*
he-ERG fish search-INC

'He is searching/will search/searched for the fish.' (depending on context)

This refers to the past only in the context where the speaker wishes to emphasise an uncertain outcome or if the activity or its outcome depended on some preparatory activity or condition.

The addition of suitable time words will move the action into the more distant future, as in the next example.

(9) *Nuy-dh wagel bangal wapi lumay-pa*
he-ERG after later fish search-INC

'At some future date he will search for fish.'

(10) *Nungu mina mayth-ay-gi-asi-dhin,*
his very stomach-food-NEG-become-HP

'He became extremely hungry, so.'

nuy-dh wapi lumay-pa, ... lumay-pa
he-ERG fish search-INC search-INC

'He searched and searched for fish.'

(11) *Nuy koesa-pa uzaray-dhin wapi-pa lumay-pa*
he river-GOA went-HP fish-GOA search-INC

'He went to the river to search for fish.'

Examples like 10 and 11 are far less common than those like 8 and 9.

2.2 COMPLETIVE ASPECT (*-n, -iz*)

Incompletive aspect generally refers to future acts or to present acts where completion is not in focus. It refers rarely to past acts of conditional or uncertain occurrence or success. Completive aspect has a set of applications which are almost opposite to the above. Normally it refers to acts in the past and to present acts where completion or success are in focus. Occasionally it is used to refer to future acts where strong certainty is expressed.

(12) *Ngi-dh wapi gasama-n*
thou-ERG fish catch-COM

This may mean 'You caught a fish' or 'You are catching a fish and I predict that you will succeed' or 'You will definitely catch a fish (given certain conditions).' Such a context might be:-

(13) *Ngi senaw-bi koesa-pa nanga ngi-dh wapi gasama-n*
thou that-CR river-GOA FLI thou-ERG fish catch-COM

'If you go to that river then you will certainly catch fish.'

2.3 MORE SPECIALIZED TENSES AND ASPECTS

2.3.1 HABITUAL AND CONTINUOUS ASPECTS

KKY has a specialized set of aspects to indicate non-punctiliar actions (activity over a period of time). The verb suffix *-pu* indicates intermittent action.

(14) *Nuy-dh koey garsar lag-al moeydha-moey-pu*
he-ERG great many house-PL build-PL-HAB

'He has been a great builder of houses.'

Uninterrupted continuous action is indicated by the verb aspect suffix *-r*.

(15) *Na-dh nanu kazi luma-r*
she-ERG her child search-CON

'She keeps on/kept on searching for her child.'

The search in Example 15 is viewed as uninterrupted. The incompletive aspect suffix, *-pa*, is also used to indicate continuous action since this was an action which did not readily come to completion. Use of the continuous aspect suffix *-r* places much stronger stress on continuity and perseverence.

Terminated continuous aspect also occurs. This is indicated by the suffix *-rngu*, referring to actions which have been continuous until approximately the present time. This may embrace times of termination of action as long ago as a week. In a narrative, the time of termination may be the narrative present, that is the time of occurence of the main activities being narrated.

(16) *Nga-th ngi-n koey kuykuthalnga luma-rngu*
I-ERG thou-ACC very long (time) search-TCON

'I have been searching for you for a long time.' (but just now I stopped)

2.3.2 IMMEDIATE STRIVING ASPECT

The suffix *-dha* is used to indicate immediate striving aspect. Many verbs may take this suffix to indicate that the actor is striving or acting purposively. Actions so referred to generally have a measure of urgency and occur in the immediate past, present , or future. All examples I have encountered refer to the present day and generally to the present few minutes. A scout bringing back urgent word of enemy actions could use this aspect to refer to actions that had taken place several hours ago, but this would be an extreme case allowable because of the urgent intensity of the information.

(17) *Nga-th thana ime-dha*
I-ERG they+PL see-ISA

'I saw the group of them.'

To achieve the corresponding stylistic effect with respect to distant past action the speaker will generally employ one of the continuous aspect, *-r* or *-rngu* and for future action the incompletive aspect *-pa* may be employed. Since the range of signification of these other aspects is much more general than the particular function of the

immediate striving aspect, other contextual clues will need to be employed alongside these other aspects to supplement the meaning. A phrase such as 'very much' or 'all the time' is likely to be added.

3. KEY VERB TENSES

Clearly the different verb aspects have implications for verb tense or time of action as well as its aspect. The following suffixes are described as verb tense suffixes since the time of action appears to be in clearer focus than its manner of occurence.

3.1 FUTURE TENSE

The suffix *-ne* (*-dhe* on singular subject intransitive verbs) indicates future tense. The use of future tense rather than imcompletive aspect gives a clear indication that, at the present time, the participants are not ready to begin. Future tense followed by the time word *kay* indicates that action is expected later in the present day. The use of *bangal* or *wagel bangel* in place of *kay* indicates that action is expected on a future day.

(18) *Thana pathe-mi-pa*
they embark-PL-INC

'They will leave (by vehicle, any time from now on).'

(19) *Thana pathe-mi-ne*
they embark-PL-FUT

'They will leave later today/beyond today.'

3.2 TODAY PAST TENSE

Today Past Tense refers to actions that have been concluded today. This is indicated by the verb suffix *-nu* (*-m* where an intransitive verb takes a singular subject). See Examples 1 to 7.

3.3 YESTERDAY PAST TENSE

Yesterday Past Tense usually applies only to events which were concluded yesterday. Occasionally it may refer to events of two or three days ago. Where a unit of time other than a day is clearly in focus (e.g. a month) this tense may refer to an event concluded during the second latest such unit. The Yesterday Past Tense verb suffix is *-ngu*.

3.4 HISTORIC PAST TENSE PUNCTILIAR ASPECT

Most past actions which fall beyond the range of Today Past or Yesterday Past will be referred to by the use of Completive Aspect unless the speaker wishes to underline the idea that he is referring to a significant event. Significant events tend to be referred to in the Historic Past Tense, indicated by the verb suffix *-dhin*. In ordinary conversation the question, 'Did you receive the payment?' may be asked with a different slant according to the verb suffix used.

(20) *Ngi-dh modhab gasama-n a*
thou-ERG payment get-COM QUE

'Have you been paid?'

No stress is laid on whether payment took place ten seconds ago or a year ago.

(21) *Ngi-dh modhab gasamaw-dhin a*
thou-ERG payment get-HP QUE

'Did you get paid?' (at some time earlier than yesterday)

The asker of this last question implies that receiving payment at or by a certain time may be a critical factor in the recipient's well-being. In narrative most events in the distant past will be referred to using Completive Aspect, while those with most historic significence for the story will occur in Historic Past Tense. Changes of scene, references to people and items which are very important to the story, and key actions, all fall into this latter Historic Past category. While this usage dichotomy is most clearly observable between Completive Aspect and Historic Past Tense, an analagous phenomenon is observable between other tenses and aspects. Completive Aspect constitutes the basic reference to the past. All other tenses and aspects are used to produce special contrast where the time or manner of action was important. Likewise Incompletive Aspect is used as the common form of reference to present and future acts while other tenses and aspects are used to produce special contrast.

4. IMPERATIVE VERB FORMS

Intransitive Verbs in the Imperative Mood take the following suffixes.

Singular subject: *-i*
Dual subject: *-mariw*
Plural subject: *-miw*

(22) *Ngapa nag-i*
this+way look-IMP

'Look this way.'

(23) *Ngapa nage-mariw*
this+way look-DU

'(You two) look this way.'

(24) *Ngapa nage-miw*
this+way look-PL

'(You many) look this way.'

The rules for transitive verbs are similar but more complex as the suffixes vary according to number of both subject and object. These forms are set out in an overall chart of verb forms. (See Table 9.1). As with specialized forms of verbs in indicative mood, those in the imperative mood are used only sparingly to introduce a set of instructions. To continue to use imperative mood constitutes a form of verbal attack on the hearers. The negative imperative suffix is *-ayg* or *-mayg*.

5. DORMANT VERBS

KKY possesses an elaborate set of forms that are derived from verbs and have such quasi-verb functions as participle (hybrid of adjective and verb, or adverb and verb), and verbal noun. None of these forms take number suffixes like normal verbs. It is significant that negative verb forms and the tension/avoidance/fear verb forms also lack number suffixes. For this reason I have chosen to treat these along with participle type structures as dormant verbs. There is also a strong trend away from clear indication of agent and patient roles. Dormant verbs, except for negated verbs, have no close equivalent of ergative and accusative case suffixes which occur on subjects and objects of transitive verbs. Compare the examples below. Further study is needed to see where immediate striving aspect *-dha* fits in.

The compound verb *niaypa yoelpane* meaning 'will marry' is a useful example which may be used to show some of the different dormant verb forms. The literal meaning of the component words is, 'will lead to a residing place'. To aid comparison, normal verb forms as well as dormant verbs are shown.

(25) Transitive Verb

Nuy-dh na-n niay-pa yoelpa-dhin
he-ERG she-ACC reside-GOA lead-HP

'He took her as his wife.'

(26) Intransitive Verb

Palay niay-pa yoelpa-moe-dhin
they+DU reside-GOA lead-DU-HP

'They married.'

(27) Adjectival Continuous Characteristic

Itha mura niay-pa yoelpa-y ayde-l
these all reside-GOA lead-DV food-PL

'Here are all the wedding refreshments.'

(28) Adjectival Temporary Characteristic

Niay-pa yoelpa-y-zi yoepkaz ina
reside-GOA lead-DV-TCH woman here

'Here is the bride.'

(29) Abstract Noun

Ina palamun niay-pa yoelpa-y
here their+DU reside-GOA lead-DV

'This is their (dual) wedding.'

In KLY, dormant verbs acting as verbal nouns or participles are used as readily to refer to potential patient as to potential agent. The form of the dormant verb itself gives no clue as to whether the one referred to is agent or patient. In English, 'the searching child' must refer to the agent, the active searcher, and not to the object of the search. In KKY *lumayzi kazi* may just as readily mean 'the searching child' or else 'the child being searched for'. The listener depends upon the broader context of the utterance to make this distinction.

The *-zi* suffix indicates a temporary characteristic. In Example 28 it indicates that the bride is a bride just for her wedding. A woman who is to be married in the medium future might be referred to as *niaypa*

yoelpay yoepkaz because she will have this status over some extended time period. The *-zi* forms could be referred to as punctiliar participles.

6. NEGATIVE VERBS

Verbs are negated by the addition of *-yginga*, the negative indicative and *-yg*, the negative imperative.

(30) *Thana luma-yginga*
they+PL search-NEG

'They did/are/will not make a search.'

Negated verbs, along with other dormant verbs, do not take subject or object number. The same holds for avoidance verb forms.

7. TENSION OR AVOIDANCE VERB FORMS

Tension or avoidance verb forms indicate avoidance of an action, fear of an action, or, occasionally, to the overcoming of barriers to the performing of an action. This form is indicated by the verb suffixes *-yle* and *-le*.

(31) *Kedha maygi baydham-oengu ngi-nungu gasamoe-yle*
thus taboo shark-TA thou-TA grasp-TA

'Don't do that lest a shark catch you.'

In this example, there is no clear morphological indication that it is the shark and not the addressee who is the potential agent. If *baydham* were replaced with the word *buli* meaning 'fly', then potential agent-patient roles would be reversed simply because KKY speakers know that sharks tend to catch people in certain situations whereas flies tend to be caught by people, especially if people sit around yawning.

(32) *Wa ngay ngu-layg kedha zageth-oengu ayma-yle*
yes I knowledge-HAV thus work-TA do-TA

'I certainly have the skill to perform such tasks.'

In a less controversial mood the speaker would probably say,

(33) *Wa ngay ngu-layg kedha zageth-oepa ayma-ypa*
yes I knowledge-HAV thus work-GOA do-INC

'I know how to do those tasks.'

8. THE 'HAVING' SUFFIXES

As is common in Australian languages, KKY speakers take a word indicative of a characteristic (a noun, adjective, or a dormant verb) and add the 'having' suffix. This indicates an individual (animate or inanimate) possessing the given chacteristic. As KKY possesses a variety of such suffixes with subtly different signifances, these will be described more fully with nouns in a later paper. Only the *-zig* suffix will be dealt with here. It is of special interest as it occurs only on dormant verbs. It clearly has a derivative relationshop to *-zi*, the temporary characteristic indicator. *-zig* indicates an individual who possesses a temporary characteristic.

(34) *Kunuma-yzi mabayg senaw*
bound-TCH person there+MASC

'There is the arrested man.'

(35) *Kunuma-ygiz senaw*
bound-TCH+HAV there+MASC

'There is the arrested male one.'

These two expressions are closely synonymous and interchangeable.

9. SUMMARY OF CONJUGATIONS

The foregoing is an exhaustive listing of verb number, tense, mood, and aspect for KKY. Below are the typical conjugation charts for transitive and for intransitive verbs. Because there are quite a number of morphophonemic changes operating, choosing the basic verb stems is a little arbitary. I have chosen to use as 'standard' those forms which occur for the widest range of different tenses, moods, aspects, and subject/object numbers. This decision excludes the singular forms of the two most common aspects (completive and incompletive). On the other hand, I believe that the arbitary choice I have made yields the simplest basis for transformation rules capable of indicating all the different regular verb forms that occur. In the vast majority of cases, transitive verbs in KKY have stem final *-a*. (*-u*, *-i*, and *-e* occur rarely). Intransitive verbs tend to have stem-final *-e* or *-i-*. *-oe* is often manifest as the stem-final vowel with various suffixes but this has been interpreted as morphophonemic variation.

TABLE 9.1 CONJUGATION OF THE INTRANSITIVE VERB *PATHE*, 'TO DEPART'

Tense, Aspect or Mood	Suffix	Singular Subject	Dual Subject	Plural Subject
ASPECTS				
Incompletive	*-pa*	*pathe-pa*	*pathe-m-pa*	*pathe-mi-pa*
Completive	*-n/-iz*	*path-iz*	*pathe-ma-n* *pathe-moema-n*	*pathe-mi-n*
Habitual*	*-pu*	*pathe-pu*	*pathe-mam-pu*	*pathe-mi-pu*
Continuous	*-r*	Do not occur with *pathe*, used with *nage*, 'look' *nagi-r*	*nage-ma-r*	*nage-mi-r*
Terminating Continuous	*-rngu*	*nagi-rngu*	*nage-ma-rngu*	*nage-mi-rngu*
Immediate Striving	*-dha*	*pathe-dha*	*pathe-dha*	*pathe-dha*
TENSES				
Future	*-dhe/-ne*	*pathe-dhe*	*pathe-moe-ne*	*pathe-mi-ne*
Today Past	*-nu/-ma*	*pathe-ma*	*pathe-moe-nu*	*pathe-mi-nu*
Yesterday Past	*-ngu/* *-yngu*	*patha-yngu*	*pathe-moe-ngu*	*pathe-mi-ngu*
Historic Past	*-dhin/* *-ydhin*	*patha-ydhin*	*pathe-moe-dhin*	*pathe-mi-dhin*
MOOD				
Imperative	*-i/* *-riw/* *-w*	*path-i*	*pathe-ma-riw*	*pathe-mi-w*

* Note: With habitual aspect, group plurals occur very commonly and it is rare to have non-singular forms of the verb.

TABLE 9.2 CONJUGATION OF THE INTRANSITIVE VERB *DUDUPI*, 'TO SINK/DROWN'

Tense, Mood, or Aspect	Suffix	Singular Subject	Dual Subject	Plural Subject
ASPECTS				
Incompletive	*-pa*	*dudupi-pa*	*dudupoe-moem-pa*	*dudupoe-moey-pa*
Completive	*-iz/-n*	*dudup-iz*	*dudupoi-moema-n*	*dudupoe-moey-n*
Habitual	*-pu*	*dudupi-pu*	*dudupi-pu*	*dudupi-pu*
Continuous	*-ay/-r*	As *dudupi* is not used in these forms, *thanuri*, 'to sit' is substituted.		
		thanur-ay	*thanur-ma-rngu*	*thanur-mi-rngu*
Terminating Continuous	*-yngu/ -rngu*	*thanura-yngu*	*thanur-ma-rngu*	*thanur-mi-rngu*
Immediate Striving	*-dha*	*dudupi-dha*	*dudupi-dha*	*dudupi-dha*
TENSES				
Future	*-dhe/ -ne*	*dudupi-dhe*	*dudupoe-moe-ne*	*dudupoe-moey-ne*
Today Past	*-ma/-nu*	*dudupi-ma*	*dudupoe-moe-nu*	*dudupoe-moey-nu*
Yesterday Past	*-yingu/ -ngu*	*dudupa-yingu*	*dudupoe-moe-ngu*	*dudupoe-moey-ngu*
Historic Past	*-dhin*	*dudupoe-dhin*	*dudupoe-moe-dhin*	*dudupoe-moey-dhin*
MOOD				
Imperative	*-i/ -riw/ -o*	*dudup-i*	*dudupoe-ma-riw*	*dudupoe-moey*

Note: '-i' often becomes '-oe' or'-a' before 'm' and 'y'.
'-i' is often deleted when it follows 'r' and a morpheme containing 'm' followed by a vowel is added.

It follows that all the dormant verbs contain the '-i' to '-oe' to '-a' transformation.

It is of interest that the plural subject suffix used with this verb is of the form *-moey* which is much more common as an indicator of plural object with a transitive verb. There are quite a number of such verbs and many of them relate to motion or actions which change the state of the body, though not all motion verbs take the plural subject suffix *-moey* in place of *-mi*. Here are some intransitive verbs pluralized with *-moey*.

yaka-moey-pa	'reveal themselves'
yathar-moey-pa	'become entangled'
sizar-moey-pa	'descend'
uba-moey-pa	'dress'
wardha-moey-pa	'steal away'
alal-moey-pa	'become darkened with cloud shadow/become obscured'
ay-moey-pa	'become/be transformed to'
asi-moey-pa	'take on the likeness of'
adha-moey-pa	'emerge from'
dhub yoera-moey-pa	'swell up'
gulgupoe-moey-pa	'spin/travel in circles'
di-moey-pa	'break up'
idhu-moey-pa	'come loose/come undone'
koesi-moey-pa	'grow'
bar woeri-moey-pa	'bump'
garwalga-moey-pa	'wash'
lupa-moey-pa	'shake'
marsi-moey-pa	'stand in plain view'
palgi-moey-pa	'fly'

Some verbs which relate to motion or other change of bodily state but are pluralized with *-mi* not *-moey* include:

ame-mi-pa	'crawl'
zilme-mi-pa	'travel fast'
abe-mi-pa	'cover up'
nure-mi-pa	'become entwined in'

Examples of transitive verbs with plural object indicated with *-mi* rather than the much more common *-moey* include

gethtidhe-mi-pa	'read'
karnge-mi-pa	'hear'

TABLE 9.3 CONJUGATION OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB *PATHA*, 'TO CUT/CAUSE TO DEPART'.

Tense, Aspect, Mood	Suffix	Singular Object	Dual Object	Plural Object
ASPECTS				
Incompletive	*-pa/-ypa*	*patha-ypa*	*patha-m-pa* *patha-mam-pa*	*patha-moey-pa*
Completive	*-n*	*patha-n*	*patha-ma-n*	*patha-moey-n*
Habitual	*-pu/-ypu*	*patha-ypu*	*patha-mam-pu*	*patha-moey-pu*
Continuous	*-r*	*patha-r*	*patha-ma-r*	*patha-moey-r*
Terminating Continuous	*-rngu*	*patha-rngu*	*patha-ma-rngu*	*patha-moey-rngu*
Immediate Striving	*-dha*	*patha-dha*		
TENSES				
Future	*-ne*	*patha-ne*	*patha-moe-ne*	*patha-moey-ne*
Today Past	*-nu*	*patha-nu*	*patha-moe-nu*	*patha-moey-nu*
Yesterday Past	*-ngu*	*patha-ngu*	*patha-moe-ngu*	*patha-moey-ngu*
Historic Past	*-dhin*	*patha-dhin*	*patha-moe-dhin*	*patha-moey-dhin*
MOODS				
Imperative (singular actor)	*-r*	*patha-r*	*patha-ma-r*	*patha-moey-r*
Imperative (non-singular actor)	*-w/* *-riw/* *-o*	*patha-w*	*patha-ma-riw*	*patha-moey*

A few transitive verbs have a stem final *u*, and the conjugation of these is very closely analagous to that for a final verb stems. One

difference that is not surprising is that for imperatives with non-singular subject and singular object the mood suffix *-w* is absorbed into the stem final *u*. No sequence 'uw' occurs word finally in the language. Also the habitual aspect suffix may occur in the form *-moeypu* instead of the normal *-pu*. This may be analysed as an alternate form of the suffix occurring after *u*. However, since the only examples I have relate to planting seeds and plucking fruit, it may be that these acts are viewed distributively rather than collectively by the language speakers even where habitual aspect is employed.

TABLE 9.4 CONJUGATION OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB *THIDHU*, 'TO PLUCK' (AS OF FRUIT FROM A TREE.)

Tense, Mood, Aspect	Suffix	Singular Object	Dual Object	Plural Object
ASPECTS				
Incompletive	*-pa/-ypa*	*thidhu-ypa*	*thidhu-m-pa*	*thidhu-moey-pa*
Completive	*-n*	*thidhu-n*	*thidhu-ma-n*	*thidhu-moey-n*
Habitual	*-ypu/ -pu*	*thidhu-ypu*	-	*thidhu-moey-pu*
Continuous	*-r*	*thidhu-r*	*thidhu-ma-r*	*thidhu-moey-r*
Terminating Continuous	*-rngu*	*thidhu-rngu*	*thidhu-ma-rngu*	*thidhu-moey-rngu*
Immediate Striving	*-dha*	*thidhu-dha*	*thidhu-dha*	*thidhu-dha*
TENSES				
Future	*-ne*	*thidhu-ne*	*thidhu-ma-ne*	*thidhu-moey-ne*
Today Past	*-nu*	*thidhu-nu*	*thidhu-ma-nu*	*thidhu-moey-nu*
Yesterday Past	*-ngu*	*thidhu-ngu*	*thidhu-ma-ngu*	*thidhu-moey-ngu*
Historic Past	*-dhin*	*thidhu-dhin*	*thidhu-ma-dhin*	*thidhu-moey-dhin*

Tense, Mood, Aspect	Suffix	Singular Object	Dual Object	Plural Object
MOODS				
Imperative (singular actor)	*-r*	*thidhu-r*	*thidhu-ma-r*	*thidhu-moey-r*
Imperative (non-singular actor)	*-riw/ -o*	*thidhu*	*thidhu-ma-riw*	*thidhu-moey*

TABLE 9.5 DORMANT VERBS; CONJUGATION OF THE VERB *PATH* MEANING 'TO CUT' OR 'TO DEPART BY VEHICLE'.

Participle/Verbal Noun	*-yg*	*patha-yg*
Negative Imperative	*-y*	*patha-y*
Temporary Characteristic Participle	*-yzi*	*patha-yzi*
Negative Participle	*-ygi*	*patha-ygi*
Negative Indicative	*-yginga*	*patha-yginga*
Tension Avoidance	*-yle*	*patha-yle*

There is no transitive-intransitive distinction for dormant verb forms. None of them take distinct forms for different object number and all contain *-y* in the suffix and may be said to be based on the participle or verbal noun form. Various of these dormant verb forms take 'having' suffixes but this will be dealt with in the paper on nominals.

10. SOME MORPHOPHONEMIC PATTERNS

1. The potential sequence, 'a' followed by 'p' across a morpheme boundary within a word, or 'oe' followed by 'p', will always lead to some adjustment to avoid this sequence. This adjustment may be

a) Vowel deletion.

'Will have two items' *patha* + *-moe* + *-pa* becomes *patha-m-pa*

b) Interposition of 'y'.

'Will cut one item' *patha* + *-pa* becomes *patha-ypa*

c) Reduplicating an 'm'.

'Habitually cuts two items' *patha* + *-moe* + *-pu* becomes *patha-mam-pu*

Likewise we find *patha-mam-pa* occurring occasionally as an alternative to *patha-m-pa*. This restriction appears to be peculiar to verbs. With nominals, 'a' and 'oe' occur frequently as enpenthetic vowels between a consonant final nominal and the goal suffix *-pa*.

e.g. *lag* is 'house' while *lag-oepa* means 'to the house'

2. The dual suffix *-moe* which occurs on verbs to indicate that the subject (for intransitive verbs) or the object (for transitive verbs) is dual, becomes *-ma* when followed by 'm', 'n', or 'r'. This is a very clear general trend but one should not be dogmatic about variation between 'oe' and 'a' as there is a great deal of ideolect variation between these two sounds. There is a clear tendency for older speakers, especially those who have been relatively isolated from language speaking groups for some years to use 'a' in many places where younger speakers and those who have been recently in the Torres Strait use 'oe' or schwa.

3. The vowel 'e' is deleted before the vowel 'i'.
Before 'r' it changes to 'i'. Before 'y' it changes to 'a'.

For the imperative singular of *pathe*, 'to depart', *pathe* + 'i' becomes *path-i*.

With *nage*, 'to look', the continuous aspect is made up of *nage* + 'r' and this becomes *nagi-r*.

The historic past tense of *pathe*, 'to depart', is made up of *pathe* + *-ydhin*, and becomes *patha-ydhin*.

4. There are many verbs for which dual forms sometimes or always take a reduplicated version of the *-moe* suffix. One interesting feature of this reduplication is the way that it interacts with the basic language pattern of syllable stress. In KKY primary stress normally falls on the first syllable with alternate syllables thereafter bearing secondary stress. This kind of morpheme reduplication frequently occurs where the verb stem has only one syllable plus a following vowel. Thus with a verb such a *idha*, 'to maul', for example, a single *-moe* syllable would

become the third syllable, carrying secondary stress, relegating the tense or aspect suffix to the unstressed fourth syllable position. No reduplication occurs with the plural suffix but rather a tendency toward deletion. Where the third and final syllable of the stem contains an 'm', this will be deleted leaving the plural suffix in the stressed position. Showing syllable breaks and stress, we find,

idha + *-moe* + *-ne* becomes *idha.a.moe.moe.ne* 'will maul both'

Pluralizing the verb *gasamoe* 'to grasp /take hold of',

gasamoe + *-moey* + *-ne* becomes *gas.a.moey.ne* 'will grasp several'

More study is needed to detail the relationship of stress, word rhythm, and morphology but from my speaking knowledge of the language I have a strong intuition that word rhythm serves as an important purpose in disambiguating singulars, duals, and plurals. Duals tend more often to have secondary stress on the final morpheme, the tense/aspect morpheme. Also reduplication tends to disambiguate dual suffix verbs from singular verbs with *-moe* occurring in the stem. It may be possible to better understand many of the irregularities found, especially in verbs with short stems, in the light of stress and rhythm. For example, the singular, dual, and plural forms of the verb, *ma* meaning 'to hand over' are for future tense respectively,

ma.ne, *ma.moe.moe.ne*, and *ma.moey.i.ne*

Second reduplicated syllables are not normally stressed. In this case this trend predominates over the alternate syllable rule.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative case
COM	completive aspect
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
FUT	future tense
GP	group plural
HAV	'having' suffix
HP	historic past tense
INC	incompletive aspect
KKY	Kalaw Kawaw
KLY	Kala Lagaw Ya
LOC	location
PL	plural
ROU	route
TP	today past tense
:	more than one English word needed to express meaning
+	morpheme not able to be separated from word

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Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 9
November 1985

KALAW KAWAW VERBS
SPEAKER PERSPECTIVE
AND TENSE, MOOD, AND ASPECT

Rod Kennedy

0. INTRODUCTION

A comparison of tenses, moods, and aspects used by Kalaw Kawaw Ya (hereafter referred to as KKY) speakers with those used by English speakers sheds some interesting light on the problems of bilingualism in these two languages. In English there is a basic focus on event time and the vast majority of ideas can be rendered in simple past, present, or future tense. Present continuous tense in English bears some

similarity to incompletive aspect which is so widely used in KKY. These two forms in their respective languages are frequently used to refer to actions not yet completed, including many that are still in the planning stage. Both tense and aspect are important to both languages but while English places a lot of emphasis on tense KKY emphasises aspect more, and the two KKY aspects mentioned above are in common use across the whole time scale.

When first language KKY speakers begin to learn English it is natural to look for simple correspondences between the two languages. The basic import of the distinction in KKY between completive and incompletive aspects is the relative probability that an activity will take place or go to completion. This has been a language which has been spoken by event oriented people who have been more concerned with the certainty or uncertainty of an event in its natural chain or sequence than with time as a abstraction. Those tenses in KKY which express time with some precision refer to time in its fundamental units such as days and months. These fundamental units are concrete events before they are mathematical abstractions. I suspect that, while white Australians and Islanders all talk of days, months, and years, the Islander thinks far more of the event aspect of these entities. The white man is more apt to be concerned with the precise number of minutes or hours that have elapsed.

So long as all members of one Islander community lived within the sound of one conch shell, the various events that made up the life of that community could be retained in their proper sequence by simple ordering of the event schedule which tied man's activities to natural events, sunrises, sunsets, lunar phases, winds, and tides. There was little intrusion from a mathematical conception of time. If an Islander in a traditional community tells you that a social will begin 'at about 7.30 p.m.', this is probably a euphemism for 'after the evening meal but before bedtime'.

An Islander boatman, on the other hand, who knows that a journey will be much more difficult if he misses a certain tide, may tell you to be ready to go when the sea level reaches some agreed marker. He will expect you to be ready to depart promptly when the prerequisite event takes place. This kind of definite readiness is expressed in KKY by means of completive aspect. Many Islanders who have studied some English grammar at primary school level tend to equate this completive aspect with simple past tense in English and KKY incompletive aspect with English present or future tense. Just as KKY speakers use completive aspect to express an absolute readiness to do something, the same person, if speaking English, tends to employ English past tense to fulfil this function. In KKY he will say,

(1) *Wa ngoeba uzar-ma-n*
yes we+DU+INCL go-DU-COM

'Yes, you and I will (definitely) go now.'

An equivalent expression in Ap'nap, a mixture of islander English and traditional language, is *ngoeba went* or occasionally we hear, *We will went now*.

The pattern of tense, mood, and aspect in KKY is elaborate and comprehensive but the differences from English demand careful attention when a KKY speaker is to learn English or vice versa. As with many Australian languages KKY speakers presumably associate irrealis (uncertainty) mood with future events and certainly there is a measure of correlation between tense and event certainty. The outcome of past events is more determined than the outcome of present events whereas future events tend to be shrouded in uncertainly. There is a measure of similarity between the structure of the two languages but in the absence of due care this partial similarity may add to the confusion.

1. VARIATIONS BETWEEN TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE MORPHOLOGY

Numerous instances can be cited for KKY where the same verb root is used to describe a transitive act and a related reflexive act. Under similar circumstances, English tends to use different verb roots. The following pair of examples are typical. KKY has the same verb roots but the English glosses require different verb roots.

(2) *Nuy-dh lag-oenu muy-nu ara-nu thusi*
he-ERG house-LOC inside-LOC put:in-TP book

'He put the book inside the house.'

(3) *Nuy lag-ia muy are-ma*
he house-ROU inside enter-TP

'He entered the house.'

With verbs such as *purath* meaning 'to eat/dine', transitive morphology is used if the focus is mainly on the food being consumed but intransitive morphology is used where the focus is on eating as an activity not on the particular food consumed. Likewise the verbs meaning 'to teach' and 'to discover/learn' have the same root being *ngurpe* and *ngurpa* respectively. An alternate form of *ngurpe* is *ngurapi* which occurs before certain tense/aspect suffixes.

2. ACTS WHICH IMPINGE FORCEFULLY ON THE UNDERGOER TEND TO HAVE TRANSITIVE MORPHOLOGY.

With some verbs such as *yapu poeyba/e*, 'to question', transitive morphology is used where the questioner would be likely to subject the person asked to forcible or demanding questioning (e.g. a policeman questioning a suspected thief). Intransitive morphology is more likely to be used where the person asking the question is of lower status than the person being asked. Compare the following examples.

(4) *Nuy-dh na-n yapu poeyba-n*
he-ERG her-ACC ask-COM

'He asked her.' (demanding that she tell him)

(5) *Nuy na-bepa yapu poeyb-iz*
he her-GOA ask-COM

'He asked her.'

Where the asker is very circumspect, a different verb root is used along with transitive morphology. The item being sought, not the person asked, is now the object of the transitive verb. (Note the accusative suffix in Example 6.) The person to whom the approach is made is cast in a means role marked by *ia/ya/bia*.

(6) *Nuy-dh na-bia kuyk wakaya-n za*
he-ERG her-ROU source idea-COM thing

'He turned with this problem to her for her help.'

3. AN INTERESTING IRREGULARITY—TRANSITIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH INTRANSITIVE TYPE SUFFIXATION.

There are a number of verbs in KKY where the morphology is a mixture of features that are normally regarded as transitive and those normally regarded as intransitive. The verb *moeydh* meaning 'to pole or punt a canoe through the water' is typical. The verb *moeydh* meaning 'to build' has completely normal transitive morphology.

(7) *Nuy-dh lag-al moeydha-moey-n*
he-ERG house-PL build-PL-COM

'He has built some houses.'

This normal morphology contrasts with,

(8) *Nuy-dh kawtha-l moeydhe-mi-n*
he-ERG canoe-PL pole-PL-COM

'He poled several canoes.'

With the verb *moeydh*, 'to pole', all morphology within the verb itself is intransitive in form. The stem is *moeydhe* not *moeydha*. The plural suffix to concord with the plural object is in the form normally found on intransitive verbs to concord with a plural subject. Had the object been singular, the verb aspect suffix would have been in the intransitive singular form *-iz*. The features outside the verb itself are typically transitive. In this respect, subjects take ergative suffixes. Object number, not subject number, determines the number of the concordance suffix shown on the verb. This is in spite of the fact that the form of that suffix is usually in concord with subjects not objects.

4. GROUP PLURAL SUFFIX -n

As well as the above types of variation between transitive and intransitive morphology, there is a group of stylistic variations from normal transitive morphology which relate to the use of group plurals. In writing about the Mabuiag dialect of KLY, Bani and Klokied (1976) refer to some of these stylistic variations as 'Ergative Switching'. Compare normal ergative or transitive morphology in Example 9 with the stylistic variant which Bani and Klokied describe as a 'switched ergative'.

(9) *Nga-th puy-l patha-moey-ne*
I-ERG tree-PL cut-PL-FUT

'I will cut some trees down.'

(10) *Ngay puy-n pathe-dhe*
I tree-GP cut-FUT

'I will cut all those trees down.'

Example 10 presupposes some understanding between speaker and listener, in this case it was an arrangement to cut enough poles to make a shelter for a feast. This sentence tells the listener that the complete set of trees has been dealt with. Bani and Klokied make this point, then go on to say that the *-n* suffix on *puy* is an ergative marker or suffix, shifted from its normal spot. In KLY the ergative suffix in common non-plural nouns is *-n*. My own research confirms Bani and Klokied's general findings as applying to KKY dialect as well as to Mabuiag.

There are three more points I would like to make:

1. There are numerous instances in KKY of utterances where some morphological changes have been made away from the normal transitive pattern towards the intransitive pattern but the semantic intent is still similar to that of normal transitive utterances.

2. In many of these utterances, common nouns suffixed with *-n* indicate complete sets (e.g. all the trees growing in one garden, or all the trees needed for one project). Other findings lead me to prefer the name 'group plural marker' rather than 'switched ergative'.

3. Many of the stylistic variations which are used to underline the completeness of sets do not involve the deletion of an ergative suffix from the subject.

(11) *Na-dh koewsa im-iz*
she-ERG fruit see-COM

'She saw those fruit.' (indicating some complete set of fruits)

There is an absence of plural suffixes on object or verb even though the object is a plural, a group plural. The completive suffix is of the intransitive type though the verb is certainly transitive. There is an ergative suffix on the subject. Compare the normal form of such an utterance,

(12) *Na-dh koewsa-l ima-moey-n*
she-ERG fruit-PL see-PL-COM

'She saw some fruit.'

Example 11 is significant in two ways. The reduced transitive morphology indicates that the object is a collective plural. Secondly, this structure usually signals a story climax. Further examples of this will be given later. (See Section 7).

5. VERBS WHICH DO NOT TAKE PLURAL SUFFIXES

There are a number of transitive verbs in KKY which may only be used to refer to plural objects and intransitive verbs that may only refer to plural subjects. Other verbs in this general category may refer to either plural or dual objects or subjects but never to singular. This restriction is a straightforward matter of semantics and applies for much the same reasons as the ones which prevent English speakers from making statements such as, 'He gathered his shotput together'. (This is excepting the possibility that he may have just broken his shotput.)

While the KKY verb *mange* meaning 'to arrive' may refer to either a singular or a plural subject, its close synonym, *ngabuna* must have a plural subject.

(13) *Thana ngabuna-dhin*
they+PL arrive-HP

'They arrived as a group.'

With such obligatorily plural verbs, no pluralisation suffix occurs on the verb. This is consistent with the absence of plural verb suffixes on verbs where nouns are marked as group plurals by means of the *-n* suffix. In the one case, group plural status is established through the use of the *-n* suffix, in the other by means of the specialist verb. Similarly *ladhu*, 'to depart', may be used only of a party, (a plural subject) and its synonym *ulay* may only be used with non-plural subjects. There are other verbs which may have singular subjects (intransitive) or singular objects (transitive) but occur more frequently with plural subjects or objects respectively. A typical example would be *zura woeydha* meaning 'to stew'. It is uncommon 'to stew only one fish'.

(14) *Na-dh wapi-l zura woeydha-nu*
she-ERG fish-PL stew-TP

'She stewed some fish.'

These verbs which either obligatorily or generally take plural subjects or objects are frequently used with nouns suffixed '-n' to indicate that they are group plurals. In the case of transitive constructions, there is a reduction of transitive morphology which Bani and Klokied refer to as 'ergative switching'. In place of Example 14, we find,

(15) *Na wapi-n zura woeydhe-ma*
she fish-GP stew-TP

'She stewed all the fish.'

As well as the use of the group plural, the verb stem has been changed from 'a' final form typical of transitive verbs to the 'e' final form typical of intransitive verbs. The special singular intransitive form of the today past tense marker has been used rather than the usual form used with non-singular intransitives and all normal transitives. Ezra Waigana of Saibai Island pointed out an interesting related phenomonon, that of groups of collectives. With verbs that usually or always deal with collective plurals, the verb may take plural suffixation if it relates to a plural of collectives. Compare Examples 16 and 17.

(16) *Na-dh wapi-lnga zura woeydha-nu*
she-ERG fish-HAV+SG stew-TP

'She cooked a boiler of fish stew.'

In this example the object of the verb is the boiler of fish, or literally 'fish having'. Where several boilers of fish are involved the verb takes plural object suffixation.

(17) *Na-dh wapi-lmayl zura woeydha-moey-nu*
she-ERG fish-HAV+PL stew-PL-TP

'She cooked several boilers of fish stew.'

Here the role of the collectives in determining whether the verb takes a plural suffix is easily seen, since the collective is the direct object of the verb in the surface structure of the sentence. In other examples this evidence is much less certain. For example,

(18) *Thana koewbu mabayga-l garwoeydhamoe-dhin*
they+PL war person-PL gather-HP

'The warriors gathered into a fighting band.'

Compare with

(19) *Thana koewbu mabayga-l garwoeydha-moey-dhin*
they+PL war person+PL gather-PL-HP

'The warriors gathered into several fighting bands.'

The pluralisation of the verb in Example 19 is the only clue given to this multiplicity of collectives, the stem final 'moe' being deleted before the suffix '-moey' on the verb.

6. EXAMPLES OF STYLISTIC REDUCTION OF TRANSITIVE MORPHOLOGY

In common speech, collective plurality may be signalled by the omission of almost any morpheme normally employed to signal transitive action. Language speakers, however, do express strong feelings about the appropriateness of different variants. Some are regarded as incorrect usage while others are highly acceptable. The following are examples of stylistic variants which tend to be well accepted.

(20) *Na-dh koewsa im-iz*
she-ERG fruit see-COM

'She saw all of those several fruit.'

Compare the usual construction,

(21) *Na-dh koewsa-l ima-moey-n*
she-ERG fruit-PL see-PL-COM

'She saw some fruit.'

The singular intransitive form of the aspect suffix is again used to indicate the group plural effect. This type of stylistic effect is also important for another reason: it is especially likely to occur just prior to a narrative climax. For example, in the story of the frog monsters, the hero's wife desires to see the monsters. When she does so, she is quite devastated with horror. Our expectation of something unusual in the offing is heightened by the use of this device.

(22) *Ngitha ngaw ipi-n thur-iz imay-pa*
you+PL my wife-ERG summons-COM see-INC

'My wife calls you all to come so that she can see you.'

Note that both verbs lack the pluralizing suffix *-moey*. Only the verb *thur*, 'to summoms', takes the special singular intransitive form of the aspect suffix. This places the focus on the act of summoning to precede the crisis. Likewise, in the Boigu Island legend of the children who are punished with death for stealing yams, this form of the verb 'to see' is employed to indicate their being caught in the act, the discovery being the prelude to revenge.

(23) *Nuy-dh thana im-iz*
he-ERG they+PL see-COM

'He saw all of them.'

As well as such heroic examples from legend, language speakers frequently omit both noun and verb plural suffixes where the noun refers to a collective. Such variants, in the absense of any modification to ergative suffixing or of verb tense or aspect suffixing, do not indicate narrative climax. A typical example is,

(24) *Wa nagu uthu-n mura*
yes young:plant plant-COM all

'Yes, all the young plants have been planted.'

7. EXAMPLES OF COLLECTIVE PLURAL SUFFIXES APART FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS

The above evidence suggests clearly that there is a connection between group plural suffixes and variant transitive morphology. However, the connection is not absolute as the following will show.

a) Group Plural Subjects of an Intransitive Verb do occur

(25) *Thana mabayga-n mangay-dhin*
they+PL person-GP arrive-HP

'That group of people arrived.'

b) Rare Examples of Verbless Stative Constructions with Group Plurals occur

(26) *Thana mabayga-n mura uma-mayl*
they+PL person-GP all death-HAV

'These people have all died.'

Examples such as this are rare. It is more common to find the ordinary form of plural *-l* with such a stative construction. Even in the case of motion verbs there is a tendancy to restructure the utterance as a transitive type construction where a group plural is used. Compare Examples 27 and 28.

(27) *Nabayg-al mab ladhu-n*
person-PL walk move-COM

'Some people have departed on foot.'

This is an intransitive construction, but the sentence may readily be cast as transitive by replacing the group plural verb *ladhu* with the transitive verb *ayma*, 'to make'. Where a group plural noun suffix is employed to emphasise the fact that some group in its entirety departed, the transitive construction is preferred, as follows.

(28) *Nabayga-n mab ayma-n*
person-GP walk made-COM

'All those people walked.' (literally, 'made a walk')

It is common to find group plurals as subjects of transitive verbs.

(29) *Thana mabayga-n dhangal uthu-nu*
they+PL person-GP dugong harpoon-TP

'That group of people harpooned a dugong.'

8. SUMMARY

To summarise, there is a tendency for group plurals to occur in conjunction with a reduction in transitive morphology and for group plurals and transitive morphology reduction to be associated with pre-climax situations. It is interesting that the phenomenon of group plurals is so important in KKY. In the Mabuiag dialect of KLY, it is also significant that there are numbers of specialist verb forms which relate exclusively or primarily to group plurals. A great deal of morphological variation relates to indicating of group plurals. Sometimes, it is the number of group plurals rather than the number of individuals in a situation which determines whether the verb should have dual or plural suffixation or not. This grouping is a very important phenonemon in the world view of KLY speakers. Certainly, for example, family groupings mean a great deal.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative case
COM	completive aspect
CON	continuous aspect
CR	concrete referent/old information
DU	dual number
DV	dormant verb
ERG	ergative
FLI	focus link
FUT	future tense
GOA	goal
GP	group plural
HAB	habitual aspect
HAV	'having' suffix
HP	historic past tense
IMP	imperative mood
INC	incompletive aspect
INCL	inclusive
ISA	immediate striving aspect
KKY	Kalaw Kawaw
KLY	Kala Lagaw Ya
LOC	location
MASC	masculine
NEG	negative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
QUE	question marker
ROU	route/means
SG	singular
SOU	source
TA	tension avoidance
TCH	temporary characteristic
TCON	terminated continuous aspect
TP	today past tense
:	more than one English word needed for one vernacular word
+	morpheme cannot be separated from word
———	concordance

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